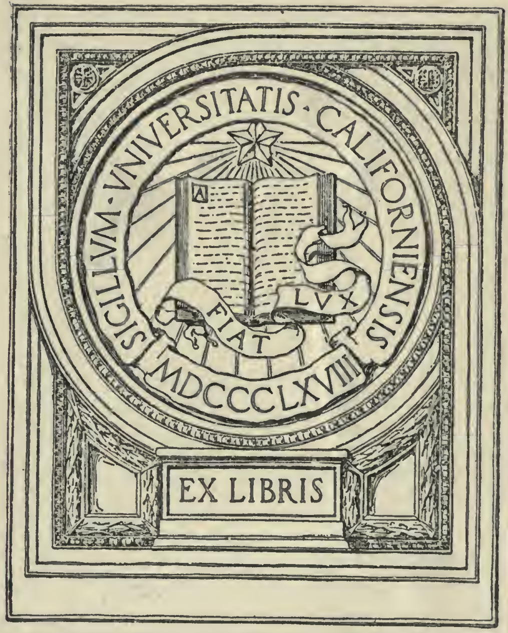
THE MYSTERY OF MORMONISM

STUART MARTIN



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OF MORMONISM

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THE MYSTERY OF MORMONISM

STUART MARTIN
Author of "Inheritance," etc., etc.

LONDON
ODHAMS PRESS LIMITED
39 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
W.C. 2

To
THE LITTLE MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

It has become almost a fashion—one is tempted to say a fad—in these days to advance an excuse for writing books. For the present volume the author has no excuse. He may, nevertheless, advance a reason for its existence—which, on the whole, is better than an excuse, and is more likely to be appreciated, even if it is more liable to be assailed.

The peculiar and remarkable organisation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to give it its full name and the one by which its adherents prefer it to be known, is scarcely understood even by its next-door neighbours in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. In a generation in which psychology is the master-key—or at least is believed to be the master-key—that opens every door into the realm of human understanding and pronounces final judgment on men and things, the phenomenon of Mormonism has, to some extent, remained an enigma. This is partly explained by the fact that no aspect of life in North America was less touched upon by writers and historians until many years after its advent. There were issued later, especially towards the end of last century, many books on the subject of Mormonism; but they are mostly unconvincing. The "histories" written by Mormon writers are hopelessly, and foolishly, biased; the many "exposures" by apostates, anti-Mormons, and non-Mormons generally defeat their object by their passionate denunciations and by raking together every piece of gossip as evidence. Tullidge's *History of Salt Lake City* (1886) was revised and censored by a committee appointed by the Mormon Church. Bancroft's *History of Utah* (1889) was written for the Church, whose leaders gave Bancroft the material; and "Bishop" Whitney's *History of Utah* (1898) is entirely pro-Mormon. The hold which the Mormon authorities had over the sources and authorship of these works at once puts them out of court as biased publications. It is questionable if an adequate or satisfactory explanation, or interpretation, of the most tantalising paradox among modern religious sects has yet been given—at any rate, within recent years—and this possibly is because few have taken the trouble to study it. It may be that Mormonism has not been considered worthy of any study at all!

That excuse, however, no longer holds good. Mormonism has spread itself over practically the whole of the civilised world. Its adherents are numbered by hundreds of thousands, and it must not be forgotten that its first converts, outside America, were drawn from Great Britain, the country which sent forth the founders of the United States. The recruiting from these islands, indeed, still proceeds with periodical fluctuations in spite of many checks and reverses.

The author is not here advocating suppression of Mormon propaganda—that has been advocated by others, and has failed—but is merely attempting to state the case in an interesting problem. It is not surprising that endeavours hitherto made in Great Britain to banish Mormon missionaries and suppress the "religion" have met with little success. Since, as has been stated, its very neighbours in Utah and the Western States are uncertain of its pretentions and its beliefs, how much harder is it for those who live far from its base to understand it, however they may feel its influence? The anti-Mormon efforts have failed for various reasons, and perhaps the main one is that they have been stupidly organised and ignorantly conducted. At intervals some novelist will write a lurid serial story full of absurd charges, giving descriptions of Mormon edifices which are hopelessly at variance with the facts. Or occasionally some prominent newspaper will break out into a campaign against Mormonism; but, beyond charging that polygamy is the main item in the Mormon creed, the fabric of

Mormonism is unchallenged, and the campaign is meaningless and futile. It is meaningless because it is conducted for the most part by persons who do not understand what they are attacking; it is futile because the attack is misdirected.

In face of this confusion, then, it remains for a real discovery of Mormonism to be made. Its history is sufficiently terrible to satisfy the most morbid seeker after sensation, and its future is as uncertain as that of any organisation assailed by enemies collectively more powerful than itself and fervently desiring its overthrow. Whatever may be said of Mormonism of the present day, it is certainly true that its early history is the story of a rude, stern struggle by rugged men for a freedom which they believed they had a right to enjoy. This belief, it would seem, was but one of the results of the promulgation of the doctrine of "freedom" which America has ever upheld, and has so constantly preached, that it has become a cult throughout the whole continent. Signs are not wanting, however, that American thinkers of late have become somewhat uneasy at the possibilities resulting from a defiance of all dogma, and the substitution of the elusive doctrine that "every man should be guided by his own conscience."

Mormonism was evolved at a time when the entire American continent was exhausted by the conflict of philosophical theories and was rent by theological schisms. The country was passing through a soul-racking, confusing era, as Europe had passed through one before her. The unifying influence of a dogmatic authority was moribund, if not already dead, and in its place was a riot of beliefs, the residue of which is still to be observed in the land. America refused to believe in the Divine right of kings or of priests, and clamoured for freedom. She obtained freedom, and immediately became bewildered in the multitude of interpretations of that freedom. The Stars and Stripes was the emblem of the land of liberty, and by a logical expansion of the principle it became the land of licence also.

It is the conclusion of the author that the explanation of the advent of Mormonism lies in this unfortunate, but perfectly logical, outcome of the confusion of ideas—a confusion which follows almost every crisis. After every principle vindicated, every theory proved, there comes a period of exhaustion in which there is a danger of disaster ; and the only hope of rescue from this exhaustion is the process of recovery which follows all effort. These two processes, exhaustion and recovery, can be observed in every human effort, physical, mental, spiritual.

The right of any authority, then, to dictate to any man his belief had been denied and abolished, and the principle of toleration had been applied as a substitute therefor. It was applied to excess. Such a licence in the matter of belief—which postulated the ability of every man to think for himself, a somewhat unjustified assumption, as Europe's older civilisation had found—led, as it could only lead, to criticism of accepted and (until then) holy things ; and criticism, as it often does, destroyed the things it pretended to criticise.

Out of the resultant chaos, in company with other extravagant " new " religions, came Mormonism ; and the conditions which produced it produced also, at various periods, the grotesque and amazing Anti-Marriage Shakers, the Celibate Harmonists, the Wife Communists of Oneida, the Disciples, the Dancing Methodists, the Communistic Zionists, and, latterly, the Free Lovers—all seeking to establish their kingdoms of eccentric absurdities in a world filled with conflicting beliefs.

There were other agencies at work besides the war of decaying philosophies which contributed towards the creation of such " new " religions. After the war of 1812–15 there came a period of intense industrial activity in every part of the American continent ; but swift on its heels came a period of stagnation—exhaustion in social life as in the life spiritual. Following this exhaustion came the slow and painful recovery. An increasing number of emigrants, moreover, left the Eastern States to seek homes and fortunes in the West at the very time that religious frenzy was consuming what is now known as the Middle West. With the pioneers, or close in their wake, went preachers whose missions were a series of "revivals," the like of which has seldom been witnessed in any country. By far the majority of those preachers were men of narrow views, bigoted and imaginative, zealous, no doubt, but emotional in the extreme. From camp to camp they went, preaching their own interpretations of the Scriptures, and in log cabins and open mountain camps the creed of a "fiery hell and delightful heaven" was taught with rude words, and was amplified as it was taught. Men engaged in a grim struggle with Nature are inclined to reverie, and the impression made on those pioneers by such preachers was deep where it was not disregarded.

The great camp at Cane Ridge, in Kentucky, was typical of the scenes which took place wherever the fanatical "revivals" occurred. In Cane Ridge camp nearly 25,000 persons would gather to hear the preachers of various sects, and it was a common occurrence for the wave of emotion to reach such a height that men and women would fall to the ground moaning, crying aloud, and generally conducting themselves as if they were demented. In those camps there were men bruised and broken spiritually as well as physically. Thousands of adventurers and ne'er-do-weels had gone West to mend their fortunes, and their life had developed in them those rough, fierce characteristics which were the cause of the new country being called "The Wild West." In a word, the peculiar conditions and types of people in those outposts of civilisation supplied the material most desirable for the purposes of irresponsible preachers and fanatics.

There is no doubt that in many respects the description of the western portion of the American continent as "wild" was fully deserved, as the authentic tales which the author has heard from the lips of men who shared the adventurous life amid the prodigality of Nature bear witness; and it is important to bear this in mind when we reflect on the great trek led by Brigham Young to the neighbourhood of the Salt Lake. Those were times when vigour was necessary. The philosopher had to be a fighter also; and if his philosophy was crude, his fighting was intense. Yet, of all the strange sects which sprang up in the United States, the Mormons alone held any considerable ground against attacks, and flourished in spite of them. All other sects have gradually disappeared, or have become so insignificant as to be of no account, for as civilisation spread westwards its unifying influence gradually, but very effectively, obliterated them. Mormonism is now considerably modified; but the impetus given it by its founder, Joseph Smith, and the strong, defiant characters who were its leaders and directors in the early days, has carried it far on the current of history. How much farther is it likely to continue? That is one of the questions which the author has tried to answer.

Mormonism has outlived all other peculiar sects mainly because of the sagacity and strong personality of its leaders. The story of the doctrine of plural wives, originally given to the world as a revelation from the Almighty to "the Prophet Joseph," then surrendered owing to the pressure of the United States Government, then "abolished" by a manifesto, then proved in the Reed Smoot investigation to be still practised and held as an important part of the creed, is an illustration of their tenacity and doggedness. Fought backward step by step, they have always striven to retain the religious freedom of polygamy; and even now, while accepting, or appearing to accept, the conditions of Statehood as laid down by the Washington Government, they have never put themselves in the position in which they could be congratulated on having abandoned it as a right.

In Salt Lake City to-day thousands of copies of the official book containing the creed, the *Doctrine and Covenants,* are sold in which the original revelation regarding plural wives appears without any mention of the manifesto which was supposed to abolish it. Only lately the author had to ask specially before he obtained, at the official Mormon book store, a copy containing the manifesto. Joseph F. Smith, the late President of the Church, who died in 1918, believed in polygamy, and had never been known to say a word to the contrary—as indeed he scarcely could do, since he was the husband of five wives and the father of over forty children. Heber J. Grant, the present President, believes in polygamy, and asserts its dictates. Almost all the other leaders are believers also, and here the remarkable situation is presented of a Church which professes to repudiate the practice and belief of polygamy while its leaders are polygamists! There is, of course, an answer from the Mormon side to this. It is claimed, for instance, that God "revealed" the doctrine in order to test the Latter-day Saints' faithfulness, and, having found them faithful, withdrew the doctrine as being no longer necessary. But the apologists who advance this argument—the younger men prefer not to discuss it—forget that the doctrine of polygamy was *not* abolished by "Divine revelation," but the practice was merely "discontinued" by "advice" of a manifesto issued by President Woodruff in 1890; and it is surely logical to expect that nothing less than a "Divine revelation" can supersede a "Divine revelation." Such an authoritative revelation in regard to polygamy, as will be shown in the following pages, has never been forthcoming. Moreover, the constitution of the creed is such that it is possible for a further "revelation" to be issued at any future time re-establishing the doctrine; and there is the further consideration that, even were a "revelation " to be promulgated now repealing the original one, it would but cause harm and dissension in the ranks, as well as among the officials, so the subject is rarely mentioned. This paradox is but one of many in the fabric of Mormonism. There are prominent Mormons in Utah who refuse to believe that the Church, under President Woodruff, did right in publishing the famous manifesto at all, as they would have preferred a straight, if bitter, fight to the end with the Washington Government. But the manifesto was issued, and it closed the eyes and ears of Washington, though it also showed at the same time that the then Mormon President was not nearly so strong a character as any of his predecessors. President Woodruff had many good qualities, but masterfulness was not one of them, and the situation in which he found himself placed in 1890 would certainly have been handled more firmly, one may say more defiantly, by a President of the stamp of Brigham Young.

But whatever claims the Mormons may put forth as to the " Divine " origin of polygamy, it is capable of demonstration that Joseph Smith was a charlatan, and it is shown conclusively in the following pages that his *Book of Abraham* is nothing more than an impudent fraud foisted on a people who could not contradict his " revelation." His " translation " of the Egyptian hieroglyphics from the papyri found in the mummies bought from a travelling showman is a stupendous imposture, for which, had he lived at a later date, he would have been laughed to scorn at once. But the ignorance of his flock, and mankind in general, saved him at the moment, and his fame increased for the time being.

Similarly, it is shown that the *Book of Mormon*, the authenticity of which was long regarded as unassailable, is only a conglomeration of vain imaginings, intermingled with definite instances of plagiarism from the Bible. Destroy the hitherto accepted authority of these " sacred " books, and one has destroyed Mormonism. Readers will decide for themselves whether the present volume brings forth that proof of fraud against the founder of the sect so long defiantly invited by Mormon lecturers and leaders.

Yet such misrepresentations as are to be found in the Mormon books has proved, as such a policy always does, shortsightedness in the long run. That Mormonism is viewed askance, and in many quarters openly distrusted, is only too apparent to those who have had the opportunity of observing conditions in Utah. Its people—that is, the Mormon people—have been subjected to persecution, it must be admitted; but they have been guilty of persecuting others, and no amount of excuse will lessen the horror and brutality of such an outrage as the Mountain Meadows massacre. The whole history of Mormonism, indeed, is a story of war and tragedy. From its very inception it has warred with its neighbours, though it was not always responsible for that. But the constitution of the organisation of the Church is such that it invites friction and challenges opposition. It has received hard blows, and it has dealt hard blows, believing all the while that it was being persecuted for the sake of its righteousness.

The war between Mormonism and its neighbours has not yet ceased; but in some of the Utah towns it has dwindled into a sort of social "cut and thrust" in which the Gentiles hate their opponents heartily enough, but fear their social and economic power. The State of Utah to-day, in spite of denials and repudiations by the Saints, is Mormon in political aspect as it is Mormon in religious views. It is a "republic within a republic, a kingdom within a kingdom," in which the President of the Church exercises an authority unheard of in any other State.

In the present volume the author tells the history and shows the growth of this remarkable force in modern civilisation, from its advent to the present time, which is a critical one for Mormonism. He has had unique opportunities to learn by impartial observation, and from the lips of the leaders themselves, what the Church of Latter-day Saints claims to represent. Practically no attempt is made to consider the Mormon creed from the theological standpoint, but the secular narrative is given, and the author's search, amid the vast accumulation of records, has always been for facts. In this the task has not been a light one, and the author feels inclined to agree with the learned citizen of Salt Lake who remarked to him that "the whole story would never be told." At any rate, it can be truthfully said that what is written here has been written without bias.

By a strange coincidence the present year sees the hundredth anniversary of the first "vision" which Smith had in the sylvan glade near his father's home in Manchester, U.S.A. It was in the spring of 1820 that he saw—or claimed to have seen—the "two glorious Personages" who told him that all the then religious denominations were based on error. In that hundred years Mormonism has spread throughout the world, and over five millions of individuals have been baptised in its name.

One may readily believe that Smith was anxious to find an answer to the eternal riddle that morning in the spring of 1820. He had arrived at the age when youth is beginning to be painfully conscious of the perplexing problems of life and death. He says he was confused by the conflicting doctrines around him. He wanted light. It is true that there is, and always has been, a great clash in religious sentiments. Creeds differ. But Smith went too far. He made the tremendous claim that there, in that wood, the Founder of Christianity, with His Heavenly Father, appeared to him and advised him not to join any of the existing sects, and gave him further advice how to start yet another sect.

With this presumptuous claim one may quarrel.

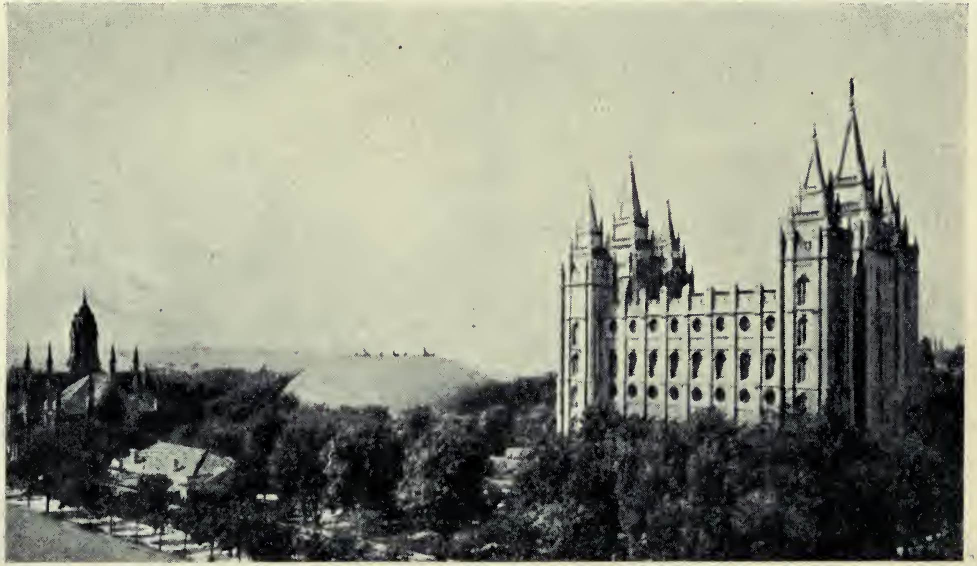
One may refuse to believe that such direction was ever given to Smith. The result has certainly not been to unify the conflict of things theological or religious. It has but added another to the " warring sects " and confusion to confusion.

Since Mormonism was born in that small wood its story has been mostly tragic, with here and there a gleam of heroism lighting up the dull, terrible sadness of pitiful, wasted effort and misguided action. The scars of its sufferings are plainly marked upon Mormonism ; and, if the creed is to live, its final adjustment to the demands of the civilisation of the twentieth century has yet to be made. The author has tried to indicate what that adjustment demands of Mormonism, and how the finer men and women of the Church shrink from the coming crisis. When the adjustment takes place—as it inevitably will, though most likely by slow degrees—the Mormonism of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young will be strangled in Utah, and the last vestige of its abominations will disappear.

The author wishes to acknowledge the debt he is under to Mr. John Challacombe for his valuable and kindly aid in deciphering some of the hieroglyphics in the illustrations.

This work is the result of many years' study of a subject which of late has been much clouded by imaginative writings and vivid fiction. Here, then, is the truth —so far as truth is possible—about Mormonism. No fiction could be stranger.

1920. STUART MARTIN.



TEMPLE BLOCK, SALT LAKE CITY.

The buildings from left to right are the Assembly Hall, the Bureau of Information, the Tabernacle, and the great Temple.

To face page 21.

THE MYSTERY OF MORMONISM

CHAPTER ONE

MORMONISM DECLARES ITSELF

America is the land of prodigies, and Utah is the great American paradox. Little more than half a century ago the State of Utah was part of that great unknown West into which adventurous spirits plunged, seeking relief from a disjointed civilisation. To-day Utah is one of the most prosperous States in the Union, facing an industrial future full of promise.

The desert of sand and sagebrush has become a fertile valley, dotted with populous cities, which have risen in less than half the time it takes a middle-sized town to establish itself in the eastern world.

Only those who know the far west of the American continent, who have lingered by its mighty cañons and marched on its majestic prairies, can appreciate the magnitude of the land. Everything there assumes gigantic proportions which confound the senses and outrun the wildest imagination; mountains, rivers, lakes, valleys, all are moulded on a sublime pattern. Until about 1840–50 nothing disturbed the solitude of the land. The Indian tribes inhabiting this unexplored region were numerically small, and were rarely nomads, so that vast tracts were waiting for the woodman and the pioneer.

The transition of Utah from wilderness to township, from mighty forest to fertile farmstead, is but one of the many manifestations of American energy so apparent throughout the whole country. That the "progress" of Utah is due primarily to the establishment there of the Church of Latter-day Saints is true in the sense that they were the first people from the east to settle permanently in the State; that its development is due entirely to that Church, as is argued by the Saints, is not so easily demonstrated.

The history of Utah, which derives its name from the tribe of Ute Indians, is largely the history of the Mormons, who first christened the land by the name of Deseret, a word taken from their *Book of Mormon.* Previous to the entrance of the first band of pioneers on July 24th, 1847, the valley of Salt Lake was practically unknown, save to trappers and hunters; but though this valley, four thousand feet above sea level, has been the gathering-place and headquarters of the Latter-day Saints since that time, the sect was founded in the Eastern States many years before the exodus to Utah was dreamed of.

Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet and founder of the Church, first saw light at Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on December 23rd, 1805, the fourth of a family of seven sons and three daughters. The family claimed to be of Scottish descent, but had settled in America a hundred years before Joseph was born. His father, also named Joseph, was a humble agriculturalist. Opponents of the Mormons say the prophet's parents were poor, illiterate, and superstitious. Mormons hold that they were devout, honest, and in straitened circumstances owing to the treachery of a trusted friend.

Lucy Mack Smith, the prophet's mother, issued, in later years, a very affectionate biography of her famous son; but it seems to have defeated its own purpose, for it is rarely seen and seldom mentioned by Smith's followers. As a matter of fact, there is a difference of opinion among Mormons as to its historical value.

When Joseph was ten years old his parents left Vermont for County Wayne, New York, and four years later they moved to Manchester, in the same county, where Joseph led the life of an ordinary farm-hand, learning agriculture, and apparently conducting himself neither better nor worse than his fellow workers.

Before approaching the crisis which marked the turning-point in the future prophet's career, it would be as well to mention here a circumstance which, though it occurred at a later date, has a direct bearing on the Smith family at this period. After the Mormon Church was established in Lake County, Ohio, the inhabitants of that district, desiring information about the life and character of the prophet, dispatched a deputation to the New York district in which the Smiths lived with instructions to collect facts and data. Over sixty persons who had been neighbours of Joseph Smith, senior, and claimed a knowledge of the family, prepared an affidavit; and it must be confessed that the testimonial was not all that could be desired. The signatories agreed that Joseph, junior, the future prophet, had a peculiar faculty for living without work; that he had gained a questionable fame as a diviner of hidden treasure, underground water, and the whereabouts of strayed cattle; that he and his companions generally idled during the summer months in the woods and surrounding country; and, finally, that Joseph was never famed for truthfulness.

It is possible that some of this evidence—and there is a considerable quantity of it—may have been tendered by persons of no greater intelligence than the Smiths were represented to possess; but there are in existence documents from the pens of responsible persons which leave no doubt that young Smith was not the blameless soul his admirers are inclined to believe. At any rate, he seems to have had in his composition many of the elements which go to make up the visionary and the dreamer. Opposed to the mass of testimony assailing his character is the story, accepted by all good Mormons, of the early life of their prophet, supported in turn by "witnesses." The most important parts of this narrative have been supplied by Joseph himself, and are as follows:

About two years after the Smith family moved to the town of Manchester a great religious revival swept the country, and centred in that district. The family was divided in adherence to the various creeds which sprang up, and Joseph hesitated to join any sect. In this state of indecision, in the spring of 1820, when fifteen years of age, he was one day reading his Bible, when his eye fell on the first chapter and fifth verse of the Epistle of James: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." The words appealed to Smith so strongly that forthwith he "retired to a sylvan glade" near his father's house to pray. As he knelt, a mysterious power overcame him, and he found himself unable to speak, and felt oppressed by gloom; but just as he was despairing the oppression rolled away, and he "Saw a pillar of light descend from heaven and approach him. As the light fell upon him he saw two Personages, in the form of men, glorious beyond description, standing above him in the air. One of these, calling him by name, and motioning to the other figure, said, 'This is My beloved Son; hear Him.'"

Joseph asked the two Personages which of the sects was right, and received the answer that none was right, and he must not join any. Commanding him again not to become a member of any sect, the Personages withdrew, and the future prophet found himself lying on his back, gazing up into the sky.

When he reached home he told his friends of the vision and the instruction he had been given; but his story was scoffed at, and he was told by not a few that he was a blasphemer and a fabricator. He seems, however, to have made an impression on his parents; but whatever credence was given to his story, there was no immediate sequel. For three years he continued his life as before, and during that time "fell into error" many times. It was on September 21st, 1823, that the crowning vision came. It came during the night, as he "prayed earnestly for an answer to his petition." The official history of the Church gives the following account of the vision:

> He was at length forced to seek the Lord that he might receive a forgiveness for all his sins and foibles, and know his standing before his God. On the night of September 21, 1823, he prayed earnestly for an answer to his petition; and, while thus engaged, the darkness began to fade away, and a glory appeared, until the room was lighter than noonday. In the midst of this light, in the air by his bedside, stood a radiant personage, whose countenance was lovely and more bright than vivid lightning. Calling the youth by name, he declared himself a messenger from God, whose name was Moroni. He said that the Lord had a work for Joseph to do—that through him God's power and kingdom were to be restored to earth, and that his name should be had for good and evil among all nations.

According to Smith's own account of the vision, he was at first afraid when he saw his visitor. "He said," says Smith, "there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent and the source from which they sprang. He also said the fullness of the everlasting gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Saviour to the ancient inhabitants. Also that there were two stones in silver bows (and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim) deposited with the plates, and the possession and use of these stones was what constituted seers in ancient or former times, and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."

Moroni also quoted various prophecies from Scripture relating to the coming of the Millennium, and told Joseph that those prophecies were about to be fulfilled; and, after warning him not to show the plates to anyone, unless commanded to do so by God—the penalty of disobedience was destruction—the angel disappeared "by way of what seemed a conduit right up into heaven." Moroni returned twice the same night to repeat his message, finally disappearing at dawn.

Smith states that he visited the burial-place of the plates next day, having recognised the spot from the vision. The place was the Hill Cumorah, twenty-five miles south-west of Rochester, N.Y. The hill was about one hundred and fifty feet high, rising abruptly from the plain. It is known in the district as the Mormon Hill. "On the west side, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a stone box; this stone was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, but the edges all round were covered with earth."

Joseph raised the stone by means of a lever "which he obtained," and looked inside. "The box was formed by placing stones together in some kind of cement. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones crossways of the box, and on these stones lay the plates and the other things with them."

As he was about to take the plates the angel Moroni appeared at his side, and told him that four years must elapse before he was to take possession. After giving him further instructions Moroni disappeared once again. Joseph carefully covered up the box, and returned home.

That Smith was not silent about the vision was only to be expected; but, though he told his relatives that he had seen the mysterious box, no one but himself seems to have cast eyes upon it. His story, in short, was met with derision. The Latter-day Saints see in this ridicule and distrust with which his story was met merely one of many persecutions their prophet was forced to undergo on behalf of his faith; and throughout the whole of their history they have accepted opposition as a painful but necessary and inevitable consequence of living in a world of Gentile unbelievers. It does not seem to have been pointed out to the youth that gold will corrode if left in the earth for the number of years those plates were supposed to have been buried. Nor, seemingly, were there any persons sufficiently interested in his "dreams" to watch his movements. At any rate, it is stated by himself that he returned to the hill every year on the anniversary of his first visit, and saw the plates each time. Mormon literature is more or less obscure regarding this period of Joseph's life; but it is certain that if he was "passing through the preparatory course in which the Lord fitted the true prophet for the responsibilities incident to the establishment of His Church," none of his acquaintances seems to have noticed a difference from his ordinary life.

The most important incident was his marriage to Emma Hale, who eloped with him, because of her parents' opposition to Smith. The two were married in South Bainbridge, N.Y., in January, 1827.

Peter Ingersol, who was a friend of Joseph, made an affidavit in 1863 to the effect that when Emma Hale's father met Joseph after the marriage he said, "You have stolen my daughter and married her. I had much rather have followed her to the grave. You spend your time digging for money—pretending to see through a stone, and thus try to deceive people."

Smith wept, says Ingersol, and confessed that his pretentions to see through a stone were false, and promised to give up his habits if Hale would get him work.

In order that his father-in-law's remarks about "seeing through a stone" may be understood, it would be as well to give one or two estimates of Joseph's character at this time by people who knew him well.

In the *Historical Magazine* of May, 1870, Fayette Lapham records that Joseph's father admitted to him that "Joseph spent about two years looking into a stone, telling fortunes, where to find lost things, and where to dig for money and other hidden treasures." This stone is described by J. B. Buck, who often saw it, as green with brown spots and about the size of a duck's egg.

Edmund B. Fairfield, D.D., LL.D., President of Michigan College, states that "it was in August of 1850 that I found myself spending a week in the immediate vicinity of Palmyra and Manchester. Three men were mentioned to me who had been intimately acquainted with Joseph Smith from the age of ten years to twenty-five and upwards. The testimony of these men was given under no stress of any kind. It was clear, decided, unequivocal testimony in which they all agreed. 'Joseph Smith is simply a notorious liar.' 'We never knew another person so utterly destitute of conscience as he was.' 'The thing for which Joseph was most notorious was his vulgar speech and his unspeakable lewdness.'"

The Rev. John A. Clark, D.D., who made a careful search into Mormon records, states: "Long before the idea of a golden Bible entered their (the Smiths') minds in their excursions for money-digging . . . Joe used to be usually their guide, putting into a hat a peculiar stone he had, through which he looked to decide where they should begin to dig."

A great deal of similar testimony exists which rather detracts from the Mormon accounts picturing their prophet as a suffering saint. Their explanation of Joseph's digging adventures is that he was employed by a gentleman from New York, who imagined that a silver-mine existed in the neighbourhood. "The mine was a failure, and Joseph, who was greatly respected by his employer, prevailed upon the latter to abandon the undertaking, which was accordingly done." But the Mormon account is entirely overwhelmed by the opposing evidence, for the silver-mine story is lacking in confirmation; and it can scarcely be held, even by the most enthusiastic follower of the prophet, that practically the whole of the community became filled with a desire to malign him.

Exactly four years after the first visit of Moroni—on the morning of September 22nd, 1827—the gold plates from which the *Book of Mormon* was copied were unearthed in obedience to the "revelations" from the angel. Some versions of the historic incident state that Joseph was greatly impeded in his task by devils, who attempted to prevent him getting possession of the plates; but angels fought the devils, and routed them.

When the plates were taken out of the stone box they were found to be "of the thickness of tin," and were "bound together like a book, fastened at one side by three rings, which ran through the whole, forming a volume about six inches thick." Beside the plates lay two stones "transparent and clear as crystal." These were the Urim and Thummim "used by seers in ancient times," by which they could "reveal things of the past and things of the future." Joseph began to examine his find, and issued the following description:

"The Urim and Thummim were two precious stones set in an arch of silver, which was fastened to an ancient breastplate of pure gold, curiously wrought. The breastplate was concave on one side and convex on the other, and seemed to have been made for a man of greater stature than is ordinary in modern days; four bands were fastened to it for the purpose of attaching it to the person of its wearer—two of the bands being for the shoulders, the other two for the waist or hips."

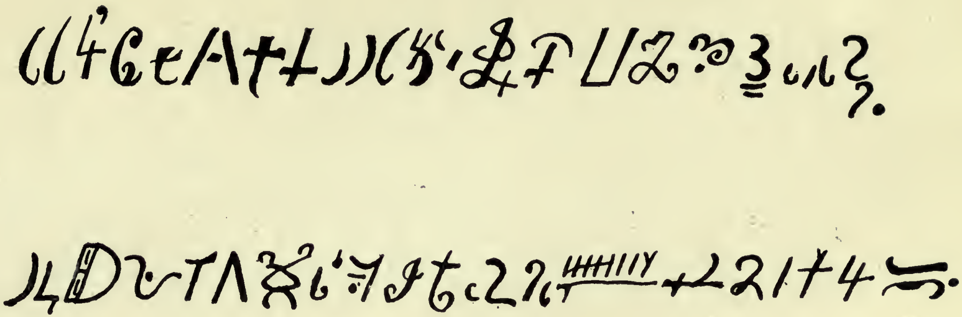
The writing on the plates was in characters of "reformed Egyptian, the language of the Jews and the writing of the Egyptians." While he was admiring the plates Moroni appeared once again at his side, and charged him to shield the records from profane sight and touch, adding that if he allowed them to be stolen or destroyed he would be "destroyed and cut off."

Then, says the official Mormon chronicle, "Moroni disappeared, and the Prophet of the Last Dispensation stood alone upon Cumorah, clasping to his bosom the priceless trust."

But the powers of evil, according to the prophet's story, were lying in wait for him, and three times on the way home he was attacked by unknown men who tried to rob him of the plates. Ultimately the youth reached home, bruised but happy, and with his prize intact.

The work of translating the characters was begun in due course. Smith did not have the necessary education for the task, but the use of the Urim and Thummim and Divine revelation are said to have come to his aid, and the work was carried on in this way: "The prophet, scanning, through the Urim and Thummim, the golden pages, would see appear, in lieu of the strange characters engraved thereon, their equivalent in English words. These he would repeat, and the scribe, separated from him by a veil or curtain, would write them down. . . . Until the writing was correct in every particular the words last given would remain before the eyes of the translator and not disappear. But on the necessary correction being made they would immediately pass away and be succeeded by others."

For some time Mrs. Smith assisted her husband by acting as his scribe; but slow progress was made, and it was not until Oliver Cowdery, an unemployed school-teacher or master, made Smith's acquaintance and offered his services that progress was accelerated. There were several interruptions, however, and a part of the translation was stolen by Mrs. Harris, the wife of one



Fac-simile of the writings on the plates which Joseph Smith claimed to have found on the hill, Cumorah.

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of Smith's followers. The prophet did not restore the lost pages, but issued a proclamation that God had commanded him "not to translate the same over again." It is the translation of the other pages, made under such remarkable circumstances, which constitute the holy book of the Latter-day Saints—the *Book of Mormon.*

Now, if the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is to escape from a charge of fraud, its urgent duty in self-defence is to produce responsible witnesses for the existence of the gold book and proof of correct translation. Witnesses are forthcoming, three in number, and their testimony is to be found prefixed to all editions of the *Book of Mormon.* They are Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer, all obscure men until that time. Their solemn testimony is as follows:

> Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the Grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for His voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates; and they have been shown unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes, nevertheless the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall

> dwell with Him eternally in the heavens. And the honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

Who, then, were these three witnesses who committed themselves to this solemn statement?

Martin Harris may be termed the financier of the movement at its inception, for he loaned fifty dollars to Smith to aid him in the publication of the book when the prophet was in financial difficulties. Harris was a well-to-do farmer of Palmyra, and was interested in the new "revelation"; but he seems to have had his doubts. During the summer of 1828 he was the prophet's scribe, and had written 116 pages at Smith's dictation, when, overcome with a desire to show the manuscript to his wife, he took the pages home. Mrs. Harris, however, being evidently a very practical person, besides being a Quaker, stole the pages, and, it is believed, destroyed them. Joseph Smith's mother relates in her *Biographical Sketches* that when Joseph heard of the disaster he exclaimed, "Oh, my God, all is lost! All is lost!" In a preface to the first edition of the *Book of Mormon* the prophet stated in regard to the incident: "If I should translate the same over again, they would publish that which they had stolen, and Satan would stir up the hearts of this generation, that they might not receive this work." Harris was forgiven ultimately for this serious loss, but he never again acted as Joseph's scribe. Indeed, Smith for a time lost the gift of translation. Some years afterwards, when Harris was questioned in Palmyra about the gold plates, he said: "I did not see them as I do that pencil-case, but I saw them with the eye of faith." The Rev. Dr. Clark, who knew him well, says that Harris was "always a firm believer in dreams, visions, and ghosts." Harris died in Clarkston, Utah, in 1875, after he had left the Church, or had been excommunicated, it is difficult to discover which.

Oliver Cowdery, the school-teacher, is said by Mormons to have been guided to the prophet's door just at the time the latter was in need of an amanuensis. Cowdery was a young man then, scarcely thirty years of age. He believed in the sect, and rose to high eminence in the early days. He was "disciplined," as they say in America, at Kirtland for living with a servant-girl, and later he was expelled for "lying, counterfeiting, and immorality." He died at Richmond, Mo., in 1850, a drunkard; but at the last he insisted that his testimony in regard to the gold plates was true. He wrote a defence of his position, in which he blamed Smith for departing from the original creed of the Church, and there is some support for the supposition that the cause of disagreement between the Church and Cowdery was the question of polygamy—which was not introduced until some years after the sect was founded.

As late as November 22nd, 1911, the Church raised a massive granite monument to Cowdery in the new cemetery, Richmond, Mo. While the officials were discovering Cowdery's grave they had an interview with Philander Page, who is Cowdery's nephew-in-law, his mother and Oliver Cowdery's wife being sisters. Page told the Mormon officials that he remembered his Uncle Oliver very well. Here is Page's testimony:

> The day Oliver Cowdery died, 3rd March, 1850, he was waited on by my father, Dr. Hiram Page, who had been his physician, and who told me the circumstance. There were present, besides himself, David Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Oliver's wife and daughter, and others. Oliver, who knew he was about to die, asked Dr. Page to raise him up, so that he could bid farewell to his family and those present. He turned to David Whitmer and said, "David, stand firm to your testimony," and to the rest he said, "Be faithful." The doctor laid his head down, and he soon passed away.

David Whitmer, the third witness, is also stated to have rebelled about 1836 over the inclusion of polygamy and other "revelations." He too was expelled, and also settled in Richmond, Missouri, where he died in 1887. His history of the plates differed somewhat as time went on. On one occasion he told a friend that the angel he saw was really a gentleman named Mr. John Angel. Latterly, however, he returned to his original testimony, and stated that what he had said at first was true; but in a letter written in 1880 he used the argument of Martin Harris, that he had seen the plates "with the eye of faith."

Philander Page, at the same time as he gave his reminiscences to the Mormon deputation in 1911 regarding Oliver Cowdery, also supplied an account of David Whitmer's death and "last testimony." Whitmer, he says, sent for Dr. Buchanan a day or two before his death.

> When the doctor came, Whitmer told him he wanted to bear his testimony concerning the *Book of Mormon*, and asked the doctor to examine him and see if he was of sane mind, for fear that some might afterwards say that his mind was weak.
>
> The doctor told him that he was of sane mind and clear understanding. He then reaffirmed his testimony to the *Book of Mormon*.

It seems rather late in the day for the officials of the Mormon Church to go seeking further testimony in regard to the authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*. Besides those three witnesses, however, eight others were permitted to add their testimony, and the document to which they signed their name is also published with the testimony of the first three witnesses. Here is the statement of the eight:

> Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, jun., the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also

> saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the world, that which we have seen ; and we lie not, God bearing witness of it.
>
> Christian Whitmer,
> Jacob Whitmer,
> Peter Whitmer, jun.,
> John Whitmer,
> Hiram Page,
> Joseph Smith, sen.,
> Hyrum Smith,
> Samuel H. Smith.

The above-named witnesses included the prophet's father and two brothers, four Whitmers, and a relative by marriage (Page was a brother-in-law to the Whitmers). The document to which they set their signatures is certainly not so definite in its claims as that signed by the three other witnesses.

During the period occupied by the translation, in February, 1827, Martin Harris paid a visit to the prophet at the house of the latter's father-in-law, and asked permission to take a copy of the translation to New York, so that its genuine character might be established. Evidently Mr. Harris was still doubting ; but permission was given, and he set off. The official version of the visit states that Harris called on Professor Anthon, of Columbia College, who, after examination, pronounced that the translated characters were true Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyrian, and Arabic. Having signed a certificate to that effect, the professer asked (so says the Mormon statement) where the characters came from, and on being told by Harris that they were revealed by an angel from heaven and were inscribed on gold plates, he replied that there were no such things nowadays as ministering angels ; and he tore up the certificate he had just signed.

There is, however, another version of this incident. In a letter to Mr. E. D. Howe, dated February 17th, 1834, Professor Anthon wrote: "The whole story about my pronouncing the Mormon inscription to be reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics is perfectly false. . . . Upon examining the paper in question, I soon came to the conclusion that it was all a trick—perhaps a hoax. . . . I communicated my suspicions to him (Harris), warning him to beware of rogues. . . . I must beg you as a personal favour to publish this letter immediately should you find my name mentioned by these wretched fanatics."

The Mormons hold that not only did Professor Anton admit the characters were genuine, but another scholar, Dr. Mitchell, was also consulted, and seconded that decision. It is a pity that they are not in the position to submit the characters to present-day scholars. This course, unfortunately, is impossible, for Joseph Smith stated that when the translation was completed the plates were "committed unto the charge of the angel Moroni" and vanished. No copy of any kind seems to have been kept whereby experts could judge the validity of the Mormon prophet's claim.

Smith, in the meantime, had received a revelation, still to be found in that book of his published revelations, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, to the effect that Martin Harris should furnish the money to pay for the cost of printing. Harris had mortgaged his farm to meet the expense, whereupon Mrs. Harris separated from her husband, and accused the prophet of obtaining money by false pretences.

It was Oliver Cowdery who mainly superintended the issue of the book from the office of a Palmyra printer, named Egbert B. Grandin, who also published a small local newspaper. One of the proof-readers, Daniel Hendrix, stated in his recollections that "the penmanship of the copy furnished was good, but the grammar, spelling, and punctation were done by John H. Gilbert, the chief compositor in the office."

The setting-up of the book took time; but at last, all difficulties having been overcome, an edition of five thousand copies was run off, and in 1829 the *Book of Mormon* was launched in the world.

Mormonism had declared itself openly. The tragic story of the most remarkable religious movement of modern times was about to begin.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFANT CHURCH

THE *Book of Mormon,* though purged of many of the chronological and other errors of its early editions, remains to-day the same in its main features as when first published. Its contents profess to be the history of two nations, the "Nephites" and the "Jaredites," who, the Latter-day Saints aver, came from the East and settled in America, and were visited there by the Founder of Christianity after He rose from the dead. Non-Mormons may feel shocked at the suggestion that Christ visited America after the crucifixion, but it would be just as well to warn them that this is but one of the minor claims, among many startling ones, made by this remarkable sect.

The Nephite nation is said to have been led from Jerusalem in 600 B.C. by one "Lehi." The Jaredites were led by "the Lord." It is admitted that there are no precise records concerning the travels of the Jaredites. They "reached the ocean, and there constructed eight vessels, called barges, in which they set out upon the waters. These vessels were small and dark within; but the Lord made luminous certain stones, which gave light to the voyagers. After a passage of three hundred and forty-four days the colony landed on the western shore of North America, probably at a place south of the Gulf of California and north of the Isthmus of Panama."

Mormons raise no question at all about the many difficulties of navigation in barges, food supply, and the thousand-and-one essentials for a long voyage; they simply accept the statement that every difficulty connected with the transportation of a "nation" on a voyage lasting nearly a year was overcome, apparently with comparative ease.

The Nephite nation was the later and the more important people. Led by Lehi, "a Jewish prophet of the tribe of Manasseh," they journeyed from Jerusalem to the Red Sea; then across Arabia, having changed their course eastward, and on the shores of the Arabian Sea "provisioned a vessel in which they committed themselves to Divine care upon the waters." They crossed the Indian Ocean, over the South Pacific, and landed in 590 B.C. "probably somewhere near the site of the present city of Valparaiso in Chile."

The Nephites settled in the new country, and in the course of a few generations had a "numerous posterity." But after the death of Lehi a division occurred, some of the people accepting as their future leader Nephi, who had been "appointed to the prophetic office." The others declined to accept Nephi, and proclaimed his brother Laman. Both Nephi and Laman were the sons of Lehi, the latter being the elder. Henceforth the two factions were known as "Nephites" and "Lamanites" respectively.

We are told that the Lamanites manifested "implacable hatred and hostility," towards the Nephites, who "advanced in the arts of civilisation, built large cities and established prosperous commonwealths. They spread northward, occupying the northern part of South America; then, crossing the Isthmus, they extended their domain over the southern, central, and eastern portions of what are now known as the United States of America." But the Lamanites "fell under the curse of darkness; they became dark in skin and benighted in spirit, forgot the God of their fathers, lived a wild nomadic life, and degenerated into the fallen state in which the American Indians—their lineal descendants—were found by those who rediscovered the western continent in later times."

The last struggles between the Lamanites and the Nephites took place near the hill Cumorah (the spot where Smith states he found the gold plates, in New York State) about 400 A.D., and ended in the destruction of the Nephites. The Lamanites had sworn to wipe out the Nephites, and appear to have kept their word, for only one man of the Nephite nation was left. That man was Moroni, " who, wandering from place to place, daily expecting death from the victorious Lamanites," wrote the latter part of the records of his people, and hid them in Cumorah, appearing finally as an angel before Joseph Smith, and appointing him as prophet of the new dispensation.

Let us now turn to the story of the Jaredites, which nation we have already mentioned briefly. The prophet, in his translation, states that the people of Jared followed their leader from the Tower of Babel at the time of the confusion of tongues. Their history was written on twenty-four plates of gold, by Ether, the last of their prophets, who, " foreseeing the destruction of his people because of their wickedness, hid away the historical plates." They were found in 123 B.C. by an expedition sent out by King Limhi, a Nephite ruler. This record was later abridged by Moroni, and the condensed story appears in the *Book of Mormon* under the name of the *Book of Ether*.

The name of the chief prophet of the Jaredites is not known, but it is said that he was the brother of Jared. They, and their nation, left Babel after the Lord promised to lead them " to a land choice above all other lands " because they were " free from the taint of idolatry."

They made the voyage in the manner already mentioned, and, having landed, became a flourishing nation ; but, " giving way to internal dissensions, they divided into factions which warred with one another until the people were totally destroyed."

One is tempted to remark that both the Jaredites and the Nephites seem to have made clean sweeps when they started on destruction campaigns, and must have been very thorough people.

"This destruction" (of the Jaredites), says Dr. James E. Talmage, the Mormon writer who has done much to try to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the *Book of Mormon*, "which occurred near the hill Ramah, afterward known among the Nephites as Cumorah, probably took place at about the time of Lehi's landing in South America—590 B.C. The last representative of the ill-fated race was Coriantumr, the former king, concerning whom Ether had prophesied that he should survive all his subjects, and live to see another people possess the land. This prediction was fulfilled in that the king, whose people had become extinct, came, in the course of his solitary wanderings, to a region occupied by the people of Mulek, who are to be mentioned here as the third ancient colony of emigrants from the eastern continent.

"Mulek was the son of Zedekiah, King of Judah, an infant at the time of his brothers' violent deaths and his father's cruel torture at the hands of the King of Babylon. Eleven years after Lehi's departure from Jerusalem another colony was led from the city, among whom was Mulek. His name has been given to the people, probably on account of his recognised rights of leadership by virtue of his lineage. The *Book of Mormon* record concerning Mulek and his people is scanty; we learn, however, that the colony was brought across the waters, to a landing on the northern part of the continent. The descendants of this colony were discovered by the Nephites under Mosiah; they had grown numerous, but, having had no scriptures for their guidance, had fallen into a condition of spiritual darkness. They joined the Nephites, and their history is merged into that of the greater nation. The Nephites gave to North America the name Land of Mulek."

The plates of the *Book of Mormon*, as delivered by the angel Moroni to Joseph Smith, were said to be of gold, of uniform size, each about seven inches wide by eight inches long; in thickness a little less than an ordinary sheet of tin. They were fastened together by three rings running through the plates near one edge, and formed a book about six inches thick. Not all, however, has been translated, a part being sealed.

The three classes of plates mentioned on the title-page of the *Book of Mormon* are as follow:

1. The Plates of Nephi.
2. The Plates of Mormon.
3. The Plates of Ether.

Such is the explanation of the Latter-day Saints of the origin of the holy book. The explanation has been rejected by the world generally.

There have been other explanations.

That which found most acceptance among anti-Mormons has been termed the "Spaulding theory." Solomon Spaulding was a Presbyterian preacher who had fallen on evil days, a graduate of Dartmouth College, but a sort of ne'er-do-weel. With a view to retrieving his fortunes he wrote a romance concerning the ancient inhabitants of America, his imagination having been fired by various finds of relics and skeletons in the Indian mounds which abound throughout the continent. This romance was entitled *The Manuscript Found.* It was a curious medley of wars, and dealt with the adventures of a band of Eastern people who came to America in the dim past. In writing it, Spaulding employed biblical language to a great extent, and when he went to live in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, he submitted the manuscript to Messrs Patterson & Lamdin, printers, for publication. Owing to certain difficulties the publication never took place, and Spaulding died at Amity, Pennsylvania, in 1816.

Many years afterwards the manuscript came into the hands of Sidney Rigdon, a Baptist preacher, who seems to have been a religious nomad, and was an occasional visitor to the printing-office. Some authorities say that he was working there as a compositor for some time. He inserted passages of Scripture where he thought they would help the text, and, travelling westward, came in touch with Joseph Smith. Together, the religious opportunist and the superstitious agriculturalist, they conceived the idea that there was money in the novel. Starting from that basis, the development of the fraud was only a matter of time, and the transition of *The Manuscript Found* from a historical romance to a Divine revelation was a metaphysical process with a commercial object. The inspiring genius was held to be Rigdon; but it is vouched for by the Rev. Nathaniel Lewis, of Harmony, Pa., and his two sons, that Smith had given currency to a dream in which he described himself beholding an iron box containing gold plates, over which stood a bearded Spaniard "with his throat cut from ear to ear." Smith also told them that, with the help of his wife, he had located and taken possession of the treasure. Such, with certain variations and considerable evidence, is the anti-Mormon reply to Smith's story of a visitation from heaven and the discovery of gold plates on Cumorah.

The Mormons have vigorously and persistently fought this theory of their prophet's vision. They state that the charge of appropriating Spaulding's manuscript was first made by Dr. Hurlburt, an apostate of the Church, and that the reason the story gained favour was because of the difficulty of obtaining proof to the contrary for a considerable time. In 1884, however, President James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, Ohio, and a literary friend, Mr. Rice, while examining a collection of old manuscripts purchased by the latter, found the original Spaulding story. They made a careful examination of this manuscript, and compared it with the *Book of Mormon*, and pronounced their verdict. Professor Fairchild wrote in the *New York Observer* on February 5th, 1885: "The theory of the origin of the *Book of Mormon* in the traditional manuscript of Solomon Spaulding will probably have to be relinquished. . . . Mr. Rice, myself, and others compared it with the *Book of Mormon*, and could detect no semblance between the two."

But, contrary to Mormon belief, this does not dispose of the theory, for there is the evidence of several persons who state that they heard Spaulding read portions of his story, or one of his stories, for he is credited with having at least two manuscripts, and all are emphatic that there was a similarity between this story and the *Book of Mormon*; but all agree that the long arguments and dissertations on religion and theology were absent in the original work. It is probable that the acute mind of Rigdon, who was a keen controversialist, was responsible for many, if not all, of the biblical quotations and theological theories in the *Book of Mormon*. As a matter of fact, the book has many instances of the limited knowledge of its authors, and its phraseology is such that one is constantly suspicious that biblical terms and other phrases have been plagiarised.

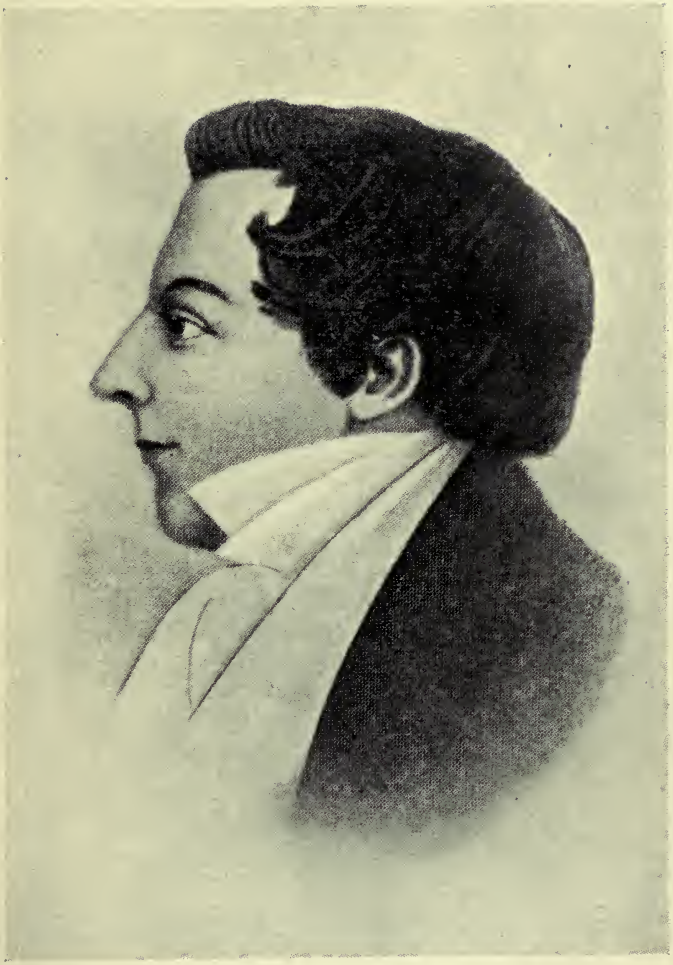
Several instances may be pointed out. The phrase from Shakespeare, "Hear the words of a trembling parent, whose limbs ye must soon lay down in the cold and silent grave, from whence no traveller can return," are to be found unaltered, spoken by Lehi several thousand years ago. Not even the most partisan Mormon will attempt to suggest that Shakespeare could have read the gold plates. On page 347 of the *Book of Mormon*, again, it is suggested that the mariner's compass was in use many hundreds of years before it was invented. At the very beginning of the *Book of Mormon* it is stated that a man named Laban was killed by Nephi, who wielded a sword "of the most precious steel." But steel was not known to man in those days.

One of the many quotations from the Scriptures may be mentioned. On page 19 Lehi uses these words: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make His paths straight; for there standeth One among you whom ye know not; and He is mightier than I, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose." Bible students will easily be able to trace this to its source in the Authorised Version of the New Testament as the words of John the Baptist. And it is well known that the Authorised Version was given to the world in the year 1611.

These are but a few instances of certain peculiarities of their holy book which Mormons have difficulty in explaining. Other points will be dealt with in a later chapter considering the make-up of the chief Mormon "Sacred Books." After an exhaustive search into and study of the beginnings of the sect, the author is satisfied that the Mormonism we know to-day is a vastly different thing from the Mormonism of the infant Church. Much "evidence" from both sides bearing on the disturbances and riots of early days has to be disregarded in despair; but there still remains all that is necessary to indicate the growth and inconsistencies of this peculiar sect, and at the same time to supply quite ordinary reasons for movements and directions which Mormons claim were of Divine origin. The Church seems to have begun as a sort of vague Millenarianism, and there is also a trace of anti-Masonry, which was then popular. Certainly it is beyond doubt that the doctrine of polygamy, the God-Adam theory, and several other tenets were added at a date long after the first revelations were published. No Mormon can deny that polygamy was practised in secret by the leaders before the world, or even all Mormons, knew it was in vogue. But Smith had revelations from time to time, as circumstances arose; and though his successors in the presidential chair have all claimed, by virtue of succession, that each was for the time being the mouthpiece of God on earth, there have never been revelations of such importance as his, and latterly there have been none at all. Whether the sect can uphold its claim to Divine guidance and inspiration is best judged by the story of its suffering and misfortune.

When the *Book of Mormon* was published the majority of people smiled at its pretensions; but, as is always the case with new religious movements, a few were impressed. Little time was lost in organising a Church, and on Tuesday, April 6th, 1830, the "Church of Christ" became a force of six members, the number required by law. The six were Joseph Smith, the prophet, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith (Joseph's brother), Peter Whitmer, jun., Samuel H. Smith, and David Whitmer. Of these, two were later murdered in gaol, two apostatised, one became an anti-Brighamite, and one died of over-exertion. Joseph was accepted by the others as prophet, and, laying his hands on Oliver Cowdery, ordained him to the office of Elder. Cowdery performed the same service to Joseph, and the campaign of converting the world began. The first public meeting was held the following Sunday at the house of Peter Whitmer, when Cowdery preached the sermon. A few converts were gained, and on the next Sunday morning a few more, all of whom were baptised by Cowdery in Seneca Lake.

The first miracle of the new Church took place in the latter part of that month at Colesville, Broome County, New York, when the prophet was on a visit to the house of a Mr. Joseph Knight, a son of whom, named Newel, attended a meeting, and was about to pray, when he found that he could not do so. He "retired into the woods," but returned shortly in an alarming state. His face and limbs were distorted and twisted, and as he entered the room he was caught and "tossed to and fro." The Prophet Smith took hold of the young man's hand, and commanded the devil —for it was believed that he was "possessed"—to



Joseph Smith,
The founder of Mormonism.

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depart. The devil departed, and Newel Knight cried out in joy, telling the company that he could see the devil leaving the apartment. He was converted on the spot, and lived and died a good Mormon. All those who were present swear to the actual happening of this miracle, so that there is little doubt that some manifestation took place. The incident brought several more converts into the Church.

It was not long before a Church of considerable proportions was founded in Kirtland, Ohio, and from that day onward Mormonism took definite shape. Just prior to this, according to their own story, a heavenly messenger had appeared to Smith and Cowdery and told them that he was John the Baptist, and that he had been sent to them by the Apostles Peter, James, and John; and he conferred the Aaronic priesthood on them, informing them also that the Higher, or Melchizedec, priesthood would be conferred later. Not long afterwards the three apostles, the Mormons say, appeared and conferred the higher honour on them, explaining that they themselves had held this title when in the flesh. The Melchizedec priesthood, it may be stated, is in Mormonism the "moving, directing, controlling, governing, or presiding agency, right and authority which is vested in the Godhead and delegated unto man for the purposes of his instruction, initiation into the Church, spiritual and temporal guidance, government and exaltation . . . which is without father, without mother, or descent, or beginning of days, or end of life; which the great High-Priest Melchizedec so honoured and magnified in his time that it was called after his name in honour to him and to avoid the too frequent repetition of the name of the Son of God."

Smith and Cowdery attended a conference in Kirtland in June, 1831, when the "power of the priesthood was more fully manifested than hitherto," and many Elders were commissioned to "go forth two by two to preach and baptise." At the same time the prophet received many revelations, among them being a direction as to how the "city of Zion" should be set up for the faithful. The spot revealed as the site of Zion, "which should never be moved," was in Jackson County, Missouri, and in a short time the Mormons began to build about twelve miles west of Independence. The site of the temple was also given in a revelation, and when, in August, a large band of converts arrived, Smith announced that the whole land would belong to them. It has been stated that the converts who came to Zion were much more fanatical than their brethren who remained in Kirtland; at any rate, they got into trouble with their neighbours more quickly. A revelation which Smith published to the effect, "Behold, it is said in my laws 'or forbidden to get in debt to thine enemies'; but, behold, it is not said at any time that the Lord should not take when He please and pay as seemeth Him good," may have been taken too literally by some Mormons. Complaints began to come in from settlers, who alleged that Mormon Elders had taken their cattle without payment. Added to this was the fact that the Mormons were openly declaring that their Zion would soon embrace the whole land, which was not very encouraging for the Missourians who had been settled there for years. There were about 2,000 Mormons in Missouri at this time, and a newspaper had been established, under the name of the *Evening and Morning Star*, with W. W. Phelps, as editor, who had an express promise from Smith that the Millennium would arrive in his lifetime. In June, 1833, this newspaper published an article which aroused the wrath of the old citizens, who answered it by a pamphlet. The Mormons became more aggressive, and the settlers determined to start a campaign of protest. Gradually the public mind became more restless against the Mormons as complaints of various kinds multiplied, and finally the Missourians drew up a document accusing the Mormons of blasphemy, pretensions of healing the sick, casting out devils, interfering with negro slaves, and declaring that the country was theirs by "revelation." The climax was reached two months later, when the Missourians realised that the Mormons had organised their votes so completely that they would carry the elections then pending, and, as their political views were bitterly opposed to those of the Mormons, their rage and fears overcame them. An armed mob of 300 attacked the newspaper office, tarred and feathered several leading Mormons, and ordered them all out of the county.

Joseph Smith was at Kirtland when this happened, and Oliver Cowdery set off to consult with him on the affair; but during his absence the Mormons agreed to leave Jackson County. Phelps and another leader, Orson Hyde, addressed a petition to the Governor of Missouri asking for redress. The Governor replied that they would get protection if they chose to stay. Having obtained this reply, the Mormons declined to keep their agreement with the citizens that they would leave (they say it was the Missourians who broke *their* word), and the latter again attacked them and burned ten houses. The Mormons took up arms, and killed two of their opponents. This signed their death-warrant. War was declared. A strong force of settlers gathered together, and drove the Mormons over the river. Men were beaten, houses were destroyed, women and children were turned out with their male relatives. They found a refuge of a kind in Clay County, across the border; but for some time there was hostility between the two factions.

The Missourians later repented of their attack, and offered to pay the Mormons double value for their property in Jackson County on condition that all future claims were surrendered; but the Mormons declined to sell, and to this day they hold title-deeds to land—title-deeds which have long since lapsed and passed to other hands. These things did not come to pass, however, without a spectacular display of force on the part of the Mormons. Joseph Smith, who was already being harassed by lawsuits in Kirtland, felt that the expulsion of his flock from Missouri was a challenge to his power. The exiles who had gone to Clay County attempted to settle in what was then Van Buren County, but were warned off by the settlers there. This rebuff decided the prophet, who issued a revelation that Zion "was to be redeemed," and enrolled an "army" of about 200 for that purpose. The revelation of the prophet on this occasion served to strengthen his volunteers, for it certainly lacked nothing in self-confidence. Here it is:

> Behold, I say unto you, the redemption of Zion must needs come by power;
>
> Therefore, I will raise up unto my people a man, who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel.
>
> For ye are the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be led out of bondage by power, and with a stretched-out arm;
>
> And as your fathers were led at the first, even so shall the redemption of Zion be.
>
> Therefore let not your hearts faint, for I say unto you, as I said unto your fathers, mine angel shall go up before you, but not my presence;
>
> But I say unto you, mine angel shall go before you, and also my presence, and in time ye shall possess the goodly land.

The importance of this revelation was sadly marred by its unfulfilment. The company which Smith led was known as "Zion's Camp." The prophet was "General," and among his henchmen were several who became famous in later years, including Brigham Young, who had joined a year or so previously. All went well on the march until the company—which had started out 130 strong, and gathered recruits on the way—arrived near the Mississippi, when cholera broke out. The terrible disease was comparatively new to

America, and proper methods for dealing with it were not known. Present-day Saints say that Smith had already prophesied a chastisement owing to the dissensions which had broken out among his followers; but one may dismiss this Mormon explanation, for it lacks support. One thing is certain: the cholera spread rapidly through the camp, to the consternation of all. Nearly twenty died in a few days, and the prophet's attempts to cure those stricken by "laying on of hands" were fruitless. In the meantime an armed force of settlers who had gathered to oppose the Mormons was dispersed by a terrific storm, and the Mormons, after the cholera had spent its ravages, also dispersed. The campaign of the "army of the Lord" was a fiasco.

Soon after this futile expedition the Mormons who had sought refuge in Clay County left at the request of the settlers there, and proceeded farther into the comparatively unknown districts. They built the town of Far West in three weeks, and for a time lived quietly; but as they began to again become prosperous, disturbing elements once more appeared. Polygamy began to be spoken of, if it was not already practised; the few Gentiles in the neighbourhood were subjected to harangues and aggressive "revelations" similar to those which had caused bloodshed in the east; and immorality is said to have been not uncommon.

Matters were at this stage when the promising community broke up dramatically. It is remarkable that throughout the history of Mormonism the elements of discord and friction with neighbours have generally appeared when the Mormons were becoming prosperous; and it seems to be the fact, as charged against them, that as they prospered, so they became arrogant. Their history is one of dissensions and strife, every outbreak resulting in the Saints removing farther west out of reach of the Gentiles. But that movement west could not be carried on indefinitely, and to-day we have them firmly planted in Salt Lake City under conditions which are strangely paradoxical. Elsewhere we shall advance an explanation for this peculiarity, this trail of explosions which went far towards wrecking the structure of the rise of Mormonism; for all these disturbances and conflicts with their neighbours may be traced to one distinct cause, and it is almost certain that the "Mormon question" will not be settled without another outbreak.

The Kirtland Saints had established a sort of communism among themselves—though there had been some who objected to the system—and several men of standing had joined the Church. A temple costing £8,000 had been built, and a quorum of twelve Apostles, among whom was Brigham Young, was appointed. Revelations of Joseph Smith were published under the title of *Book of Doctrine and Covenants*, and adopted as the articles of faith. A Jewish professor, who believed Smith was the Messiah, had joined the sect, and a Hebrew professorship had been established. The prophet was one of the first pupils. In addition, the community had erected a store, opened a bank and a mill, and Elders and leaders zealously conducted missions in other States.

Then the eyes of the Saints turned towards England. In June, 1837, the first foreign mission, consisting of Orson Hyde, H. C. Kimball, and W. Richards, left America for Britain. They soon decided that their best chance of success was in Lancashire, where the large population of industrial workers was their most likely material; and since that day the Mormons have laboured to convert Lancashire men and women, not without some success. On July 30th following, a number of converts were baptised in the River Ribble, and the first Mormon conference in England was held at Preston. Liverpool was ever a good recruiting-ground, and the European headquarters was established there not long afterwards. It remains there to this day, its proximity to the docks having proved of immense value in the emigration work.

But the end of this prosperity of the Kirtland " stake of Zion " was near. The establishment of the bank was an error (some say it was a deliberate fraud), as events soon proved. In the unsettled state of the country many similar institutions had sprung up, and the Mormon bank came, with the others, under the expressive Western description of being a " wild-cat " organisation. It deposited no bonds as security; it had no charter; it was entirely a private institution; but its credit held good owing to stability derived from the membership of the wealthy men who had joined the Church. It conducted its business in the same way in which hundreds of other banks conducted theirs.

Just about this time Smith had some difficulty in trying to subdue, or suppress, the ambitions of some of his followers. There were whispers that the prophet had "fallen," and then, to crown all, the financial crash which reduced the insecure banks throughout the country to ruin fell also on the Mormon enterprise. The failure produced panic. Threats were made, nervous panic gave place to anger—and the prophet and his friends fled.

Those who had lost their savings were savage in their denunciations; but Joseph's explanation of his flight is that " the bitterness of the spirit of apostate mobocracy continued to rage and grow hotter and hotter, until Elder Rigdon and myself were obliged to flee from its deadly influence, as did the apostles and prophets of old, and as Jesus said, ' When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another.' "

The "mobocracy" chased the prophet for 200 miles. And that was the end of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank.

The disastrous failure of the bank is admitted by Mormon historians to have been caused by " the speculation, swindling, and treachery of subordinate officers "; but in the great apostasy which resulted from the failure accusations against the prophet were open and bitter.

Nor was this hostility to be found in the rank and file only. Practically half the number of the Apostles, all of whom had been carefully selected for the office, declared that Smith had "fallen," and they too joined the swelling ranks of the apostates. The schism threatened to bring about the utter ruin of Mormonism.

Faced with threatening disaster and the wreckage of his ambitions, Joseph saw that reorganisation could only be expected through his missions abroad; and here he showed keen insight. From England alone there came in the years that followed no fewer than 75,000 converts, so that there was constantly a stream of new followers arriving to take the place of those who left the Church. In the Missouri branch leading Elders and Apostles—some of them witnesses to the *Book of Mormon*—planned to cast Smith aside and to elect David Whitmer in his place. They would have succeeded easily enough had Brigham Young not taken up the cudgels on Smith's behalf and exposed the plot. Young was a far-seeing man, as his subsequent history proved; but his persistent advocacy of Smith as the true prophet of God aroused so much opposition that he too was at length forced to flee from the anger of the people.

Smith's flight was the signal for a general exodus, and over 500 of the Kirtland branch trekked westward to the city of Far West. As a matter of fact, some regulating influence was needed in that community. No strong man was there to control the wild characters who had come into the fold, and strong measures were necessary to purge it. There were not a few unmarried mothers in the community, there was a general lack of definite intention as regards the future, and the spiritual status was no higher than the moral. Smith saw, on his arrival with his lieutenants, that vigorous measures were necessary if he intended to recover his failing prestige; and he took vigorous measures. David Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and a number of prominent members of the Church were expelled, and William

Smith, brother of Joseph, escaped the same penalty by a very narrow vote. The charge preferred against him by his fellow Saints (but not by the prophet) was "immorality."

From this time onward Mormonism seems to have declined in its ideals, or in those ideals it had pretended to hold. Loose, questionable characters from all over the country had joined the sect, hoping to find therein a cover for their profligacy; and in the suffering which came later the simple-minded believers shared the blame and the "punishment." But this simple-minded section was in a very small minority, and the fact that the Mormons henceforth became an even more disturbing element in the country than they had been was due to several causes, not the least of which was the inflammatory counsels of their own leaders. Those men, probably thinking they were far beyond the jurisdiction of the law of the land, became, in many instances, fanatics of the wildest sort, and indulged in harangues which were highly dangerous to the peace of the community. Doubtless they were embittered by the events of the past and by the hatred with which they were viewed by non-Mormons; yet, even allowing for this, it is difficult to excuse the attitude they adopted.

Smith had already declared in one of his inspired moments that God had revealed to him that Adam had lived in America after his expulsion from Eden, the garden itself being in Jackson County. Outsiders laughed, but the Saints accepted the "revelation," and Smith located the place, giving it the name Adam-Ondi-Ahman, which name, he stated, had been given him in the revelation, and meant "Valley of God in which Adam blessed his children." Other revelations followed, and the speeches of the leaders became more violent than ever towards the Gentile population. The climax was reached on Independence Day, 1838, when the community, in common with other American cities, held carnival. The Mormons added to the occasion the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of a temple in Far West, and Sidney Rigdon was the orator of the day. Rigdon, it may be remembered, was a strong supporter of Smith, and had gained a reputation as a controversialist before he joined the Mormons. On this occasion he excelled himself.

"We take God to witness, and the holy angels to witness," he declared in his speech, "that we warn all men in the name of Jesus Christ to come on us no more for ever. The man or set of men who attempt it do it at the expense of their lives; and the mob that comes on us to disturb us, there shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them till the last drop of blood is spilled; or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and their own families, and one part or the other will be utterly destroyed. Remember it, then, all men . . . no one shall be at liberty to come into our streets to threaten us with mobs, for if he does he shall atone for it before he leaves the place; neither shall he be at liberty to vilify and slander any of us, for suffer it we will not in this place.

"We therefore take all men to record this day, as did our fathers, and we pledge this day to one another our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honours to be delivered from the persecutions which we have had to endure for the last nine years. Neither will we indulge any man or set of men in instituting vexatious lawsuits against us to cheat us out of our just rights. If they attempt it, we say, 'Woe to them!' We this day proclaim ourselves free with a purpose and determination which can never be broken—no, never."

That this inflammatory language had an unsettling effect on the minds of the rank and file, there can be no doubt, for to them it implied what they had expected, namely, the beginning of an aggressive war; and it is unfortunate that the official Mormon defence, issued many years later, should attempt to excuse it by saying, "His remarks were doubtless impolitic, but the provocation and the enthusiasm of the day should be considered as extenuating circumstances."

Shortly after this speech the political position of the Church came again to the fore with the August elections. The Mormons, it had long been held, not without reason, voted as directed, or as indicated, by their leaders; and they could carry the poll every time, to the extreme exasperation of the non-Mormons, whose political outlook generally opposed that of the Saints. The result was, as it had been in other places, a conflict; but this time the local disruption spread until it became civil war, and ended in an expulsion from Missouri in mid-winter, with all the additional horrors of outrage, massacre, and terrible privation.

It was in the town of Gallatin that the spark which fired the powder was struck. A settler named Welding taunted a Mormon, Sam Brown, with the statement that the Saints voted at Smith's dictation. Brown denied this, and Welding knocked him down. That blow began the long and bitter war which followed. Companions of both men joined in the fight, and two Mormons were so injured that they died.

Joseph Smith came to the district to help restore order, and asked Justice Black to aid him in restoring peace. The Justice later issued a sworn statement that his house was surrounded by armed Mormons, who threatened his life if he did not sign an agreement declining to issue warrants against the Saints. The riots spread, and the Governor of Missouri, an official named Boggs, who soon earned the hatred of all Mormons, ordered a force of military to the spot.

It is unnecessary, even if it were possible, to attempt to describe every eddy and side-issue of the great struggle. The mass of contradiction which faces the historian, the undue importance given to really trivial evidence, the charges and counter-charges thrown at each other by the contending parties, the piles of affidavits, and the volumes of heartrending stories make it utterly impossible for an unbiased investigator to present every detail in the search for the truth. Broadly, the issues were: On the one hand, the charges of the Mormons were that they were falsely accused of every crime their "persecutors" could think of; that every thief and rascal was said to be a Mormon, and the crimes of these men were blamed on the Mormons; that every citizen who disappeared was said to have been murdered by Mormons; that Gentiles, in their endeavours to get evidence, resorted to such means as putting their own horses and cattle in Mormon stables and then accusing Mormons of theft; and, in a word, that every offence and outrage committed in the district had a Mormon origin.

On the other hand, the Gentiles replied that the Mormon Church sheltered all the thieves, ne'er-do-weels, and rogues in the neighbourhood, because they knew that Mormon justices would protect them; that if a Mormon lived quietly he was never disturbed or threatened; that when a Mormon was known to be guilty of an offence his fellow Saints swore him off; that Mormons had persistently taught that they were superior to non-Mormons, and could raise the dead, heal the sick, and had Divine authority for every act; and that they were endeavouring to oust the non-Mormons from the land.

These, roughly, were the charges of both sides, and they were strangely akin to the charges put forward in other "wars" between Mormons and Gentiles. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed for some time. Smith abandoned all efforts for peace, and advised his flock to fight. A Mormon force was defeated at Crooked River. They retaliated, and drove the Gentiles from Gallatin, burning and plundering as they went. Then the Gentiles attacked Adam-Ondi-Ahman, plundering in their turn. It was at this period that the world was startled by the accusation against the Mormons that there existed among them the notorious band, the Danites, under the command of a doctor named Avard. The Mormons have always repudiated the allegation that such an organisation was ever sanctioned by their Church; but abundant evidence is in existence to prove that the Danites were favoured by the big men of the Church, and Avard was in full fellowship, as were also his comrades. They were banded together for the purpose of wreaking vengeance on apostates and anti-Mormons, and took their name from Genesis xlix. 17, "Dan shall be a serpent by the way." They were a band of thugs and murderers.

Towards the end of October Governor Boggs was informed by dispatches that the Mormons were committing all kinds of outrages. He thereupon sent General Clark and a force with instructions that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary." The information given the Governor proved to be exaggerated; but already the order to attack had been issued, and three days later occurred the frightful tragedy of Haun's Mill. A body of Mormons, many of them only lately arrived in the country, were camped here, and the Missourians fell upon them mercilessly, killing without regard to age or sex. Joseph Young, brother of Brigham, who escaped, states in his story of the massacre that the Missourians came upon them at four o'clock in the afternoon. They were first seen advancing rapidly on horseback, led by one Nehemiah Cumstock. They numbered about 200. One of the Mormons advanced and swung his hat in the air to attract their attention, at the same time calling for peace; but he was unheeded. The Missourians continued to advance.

"Cumstock," says Joseph Young, "fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once they discharged one hundred rifles, aiming at a blacksmith's shop into which our friends had fled for safety; and charged up to the shop, the cracks of which between the logs were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had fled there for refuge. There were several families tented in the rear of the shop, whose lives were exposed, and, amid a shower of bullets, they fled to the woods."

Altogether a score of Mormons, men, women and children, were killed. One boy, Sardius Smith, aged nine years, was dragged from his hiding-place under the bellows of the shop. His mother fell on her knees and prayed a Missourian to spare her boy, but the Missourian drew his rifle up slowly till the lad looked into the muzzle. The boy never flinched. He gazed at his enemy steadily while the ruffian replied to the mother that it was "better to kill the young wolves, and there would be no old ones." As he spoke he pressed the trigger, and Sardius Smith fell dead beside his mother, whose clothing was splashed with his blood.

The same day the camp of Far West was surrounded by troops, and a fierce fight was expected; but the following day the Mormon commander, Colonel Hinkle, entered the camp of the Missourians and agreed to surrender on their terms. The terms were: The surrender of every man and gun; the Mormon leaders to be handed over for punishment, and the remainder to leave the State. The following day Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, and four other prominent Mormons were delivered up, and a court-martial was held by some officers, who condemned several of the prisoners to be shot. But the Missourian General at once prohibited this illegal act being perpetrated, and the prisoners were ultimately taken to gaol on charges of "murder, arson, treason, robbery, larceny, and breach of the peace."

The Missourians shortly afterwards found that many of the witnesses necessary for the conduct of the case against the prisoners had decamped, and, not quite knowing what to do with Smith and his friends, they moved them from place to place. The prospects of the rank and file of the Saints meantime was becoming desperate. There was no peace for them in the district; their prophet was a prisoner, and could no longer help them. It is possible that they would have been scattered like chaff had it not been for the strong personality of one of the prophet's lieutenants, who, stepping into the breach made by his absence, planned and carried into effect a great exodus to Illinois. That man was Brigham Young.

Once again the Saints became a homeless people. Young it mainly was who drew up a covenant, which hundreds of Mormons signed, swearing to "stand by and assist each other to the utmost"; and the dark winter of 1839 saw between 10,000 and 12,000 Mormons crossing the partially frozen Mississippi river. They crossed at points from St. Louis to Keokuk—a sad, cheerless army of forlorn human beings; rugged, haggard men in rags, women tottering under the weight of their infants, children pinched and worn out with cold and hunger—a brave but infinitely pitiful and wretched exodus of Saints.

While this pathetic march was being organised Joseph Smith and his companions were being more and more loosely guarded. Their captors were well aware that when, and if, these men were brought to trial, there would be great delay and considerable expense involved. It was dawning on them that they had a "white elephant" on their hands. They were more anxious to get the Mormons out of the State than to begin prolonged legal proceedings, and on April 15th Smith's guards, who were either drunk or pretended to be, allowed him and his companions to escape, shrewdly suspecting, doubtless, that the fugitives would not tarry in Missouri.

This was exactly what happened. The escaped prisoners started off for Quincy, Illinois, which they reached safely, and joined their families, who had gone thither under the guidance of Brigham Young. Already the Illinois citizens were welcoming the shattered ranks of the Saints with open arms. Driven from eastern States, were they to find final peace here? Only their prophet could answer the query. How he answered it we shall now see.

CHAPTER THREE

THE POLYGAMY REVELATION AND THE DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH

THE welcome given to the Mormon refugees by the Illinois people was remarkable in many ways, and goes somewhat towards showing the political feeling existing between North American States at that time. Missouri was a slave-holding State. Illinois was a slave-free State. In many quarters the opinion was expressed that the Mormons were expelled from Missouri mainly because they were against slavery, and as a result Illinois politicians were quick to make friends with such a numerically strong body of newcomers. At the same time it is true that the Illinois people were genuinely sorry (who could not be?) for the plight of the refugees quite apart from political reasons, and hospitality was freely and generously dispensed. Thousands of dollars were collected and presented to them, as was also clothing and provisions, and apparently everything was going happily.

At that time there were hundreds of speculators in the State seeking to advance city building schemes; there were negotiators anxious to erect cities on "favourable" sites, and land agents who desired to "help" communities in all possible ways. These, with the politicians, saw opportunities with the coming of the Mormons. The Governors of both Illinois and Iowa were friendly. Two days after his arrival in Quincy, Joseph Smith began the task of selecting a location for his people, who had already bought tracts of land in Keokuk (Iowa), forty miles off. They had also bought other land elsewhere. Cheap land was offered in the small village of Commerce, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River. There were only six houses in the place; the ground was marshy; covered with brushwood; and the climate was unhealthy—was, indeed, believed to be good only for raising malarial fever. But the land was cheap. It was offered by a New York firm, who were glad to sell at any price; and as the prophet had a revelation on the subject, the Mormons bought it.

The prophet took up his habitation in a log hut on the banks of the river, and the Saints came to the place in thousands. A city rose almost "in a night." The first house was erected on June 11th, 1839, and the new city was named Nauvoo by the prophet, who explained to his followers that the word meant "beauty and rest." It was also prophesied that here a great city would rise which would become the gathering-place of the sect. But it soon became evident that the marshy ground was not such a good bargain as was at first supposed. Fevers broke out; a regular epidemic occurred, until scarcely one family was exempt. Even the prophet fell ill, "but," says the Mormon version of the plague, "the Spirit of God rested powerfully upon him, and on the 22nd day of July he rose and went about administering to the sick, commanding them in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole." Many miracles are said to have taken place that day.

The ravages of the disease had delayed the departure of the missionaries abroad, but in August Brigham Young headed a band which went to England, and landed in Liverpool, giving fresh impetus to the work already begun there. Brigham was by this time a rising man in the Church, and proved in his command of the mission that he could lead men. He preached, prayed, debated, travelled hundreds of miles on foot, lived hard all the time, and worked hard, too—a disciple of tireless energy. In May, 1840, the first number of *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* was published, and has not been suspended since; 5,000 copies of the *Book of Mormon,* 3,000 hymn-books, and 50,000 tracts were printed; and 1,000 converts were added to Zion. A shipping agency was established; that too still exists to-day—which fact will perhaps surprise some people. On July 1st, 1841, Brigham returned to Nauvoo, flushed with success, his star in radiant ascendancy.

While this mission work was in progress Prophet Smith was doing his best to get the grievances of the exiled Saints redressed. He interviewed the then President of the United States, Van Buren, but without much success. The members of Congress for Illinois, however, agreed, when approached, to present a memorial to the Senate. The promise of those politicians is candidly stated by Mormon historians to have been made simply "out of political policy," because "the Mormons would soon hold the balance of power in Illinois." But if the Saints expected quick satisfaction, they were doomed to disappointment. The members presented the memorial, and there the matter rested for ever, so far as they were concerned. Even when the claims of 491 Mormons against Missouri, amounting to about one and a half million dollars, were presented by Joseph himself, the Committee on Judiciary reported adversely upon them, and all hope of obtaining redress disappeared.

But the Presidential campaign of 1840, more furious than its predecessors, gave the Mormons their opportunity. Smith, previous to and during those tumultuous days, made friends with the leading politicians, while they with equal willingness made friends with him, for he controlled several thousand votes. But to neither party did Smith at first commit himself. He was anxious to obtain certain powers for his city, and he openly stated he would support the party which was the more inclined to aid his people. At length, following a council meeting with his officials, he announced that he intended to support the Whig programme; and the Mormons voted unanimously for that party. But the following year (1841) the Democrats desired much to conciliate the Mormons and secure their vote; and early that year the unparalleled Nauvoo Charter was granted by them. It was a great triumph for the prophet. Never was a more liberal charter given to any city. It gave the governing authorities power to pass all laws "not repugnant to the constitution of the United States"—a vague enough phrase which could be, and was, interpreted in several ways. The charter came into effect on February 1st the same year. Among its provisions were the appointment of a mayor, four aldermen, and four councillors; a mayor's court, with exclusive jurisdiction in all cases relating to the city; a municipal court, the mayor as chief justice, and power to issue writs of *habeas corpus*—power which only the Judge of the Supreme and Circuit Courts had hitherto held. It also incorporated the militia of Nauvoo into a body called the Nauvoo Legion, besides establishing a court-martial for the Legion not governed by State law.

Joseph Smith was soon elected mayor, and also held the positions of Lieutenant-General of the Legion, *ex-officio* judge, editor of the official Mormon organ, *Times and Seasons*, and generally chief director of the city's whole energies. He began to reorganise the Church, and bestowed on his brother Hyrum the new office of Patriarch, while twelve Apostles were elected, and given the following titles:

Brigham Young, *The Lion of the Lord.*
Parley P. Pratt, *The Archer of Paradise.*
Orson Hyde, *The Olive Branch of Israel.*
Willard Richards, *Keeper of the Rolls.*
John Taylor, *The Champion of Right.*
William Smith, *The Patriarchal Jacob's Staff.*

Wilford Woodruff, *The Banner of the Gospel.*
George A. Smith, *The Entablature of Truth.*
Orson Pratt, *The Gauge of Philosophy.*
John E. Page, *The Sundial.*
Lyman Wight, *The Wild Ram of the Mountains.*

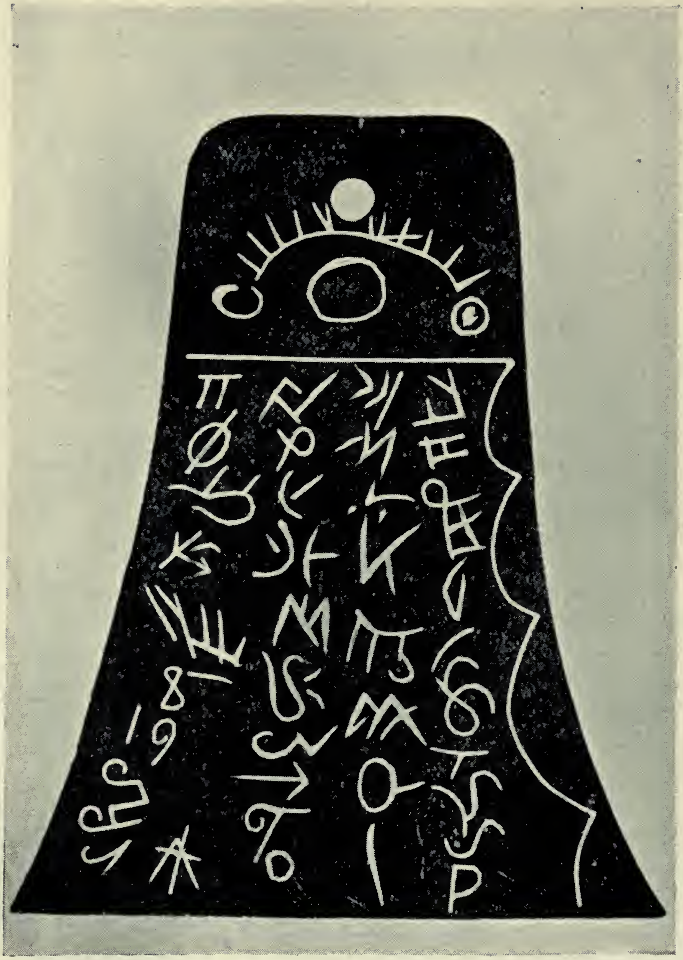
The prophet also called upon all the Mormons in the scattered " stakes," or outlying districts, to gather to Nauvoo, and the Saints from all around flocked to the city to help build the " corner-stone of Zion." This was the heyday of Mormon prosperity. Never had Mormonism flourished so well as at that period. The prophet was Mayor of a town of 20,000 souls, and had reason to feel fairly satisfied with his situation generally; yet just when every prospect seem to please, lowering clouds appeared on the horizon.

Possibly Smith had a premonition that the tidal wave of prosperity was about to recede, for in one of his orations he remarked: " Some of the Saints have supposed that Brother Joseph could not die; but this is a mistake. It is true that there have been times when I have had the promise of my life to accomplish certain things; but I have done these things, and I have no longer any lease on my life. I am as liable to die as other men." The speech is remarkable as showing the unlimited, if unwarranted, faith in Smith's mission and personality which existed among the more fanatical of his followers. When he made the speech, the beginning of the final act in the drama was not far off.

The Missourians had made at least one attempt to arrest Smith and several of the Elders on the ground that they were fugitives from justice, but without success; they complained that every attempt to execute a writ against a Mormon in Nauvoo was set at naught by Mormon Courts. The effect of the famous charter was being felt more and more, and while these complaints were being circulated an attempt was made on the life of Governor Boggs, of Missouri. As he sat one evening near a window in his home he was shot and seriously wounded in the head by an unseen individual. At once the Mormons were accused of the crime. They have always denied that they had anything to do with the affair, but it was urged by the Missourians that Joseph Smith had frequently predicted a sudden end of the Governor because of his " persecution " of the Saints. This prediction was certainly made, and it was discovered that a Mormon named Rockwell, one of the Danite band, had left Nauvoo some time previously in order, as Smith had said, when questioned, " to fulfil a prophecy."

On these grounds indictments were framed against Rockwell and Smith ; but the Nauvoo court set aside the requisition. Again the State resounded with agitation against the Mormons. New accusations were made, one of which came from landowners near the city who had refused to join the Church, yet had sold land for large sums when municipal extensions made it necessary for the Mormons to obtain it. To oust these and other enemies of the Church the " whittling deacons " were organised. The " whittling deacons " were mostly young Mormons who made it their business to meet opponents of Mormonism in the streets, mostly at night-time, and they would surround these non-Mormons, whistling all the time, and whittle pieces of wood so that the shavings fell about and on their victims. The " deacons " never spoke during the operation, and once they were on the track of a " hostile " citizen the latter generally found that the only way to escape the nuisance was to leave the place. There is good reason to believe that this method of annoyance was responsible for the departure from Nauvoo and other Mormon towns of many whose presence was objected to by the Saints.

It was about this time (1843) that the Saints were much excited by the appearance of a set of " gold plates " said to have been found by Robert Wiley, a merchant, near Kinderhook, Illinois. It was openly stated that now



One of the brass plates "discovered" in 1843 by Robert Wiley, an Illinois merchant. Joseph Smith declared the mysterious "writing" thereon was a history of the descendants of Ham. The true story was told later.

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proof would be given to the world that Joseph Smith's plates were genuine, for the new plates were said to be similar to Smith's. A number of local residents signed a statement " proving " the find, and the plates were described as being six in number, " of brass, bell-shape, each having a hole near the small end, and a ring through all." The Saints were hugely delighted by the new find, and descriptions were published in their newspapers. As late as January 15th, 1859, the *Millennial Star* reproduced pictures of the plates.

No one could translate the writing; but at length they were given to Smith, who declared that he could accomplish the task. His verdict was that the writing was a history of the descendants of Ham![1]

This incident, however, did not ward off the great revolt against Smith's Mormonism which was approaching, and one of the most severe blows dealt at the fabric so carefully built up by the prophet was dealt by Dr. Bennett, who, until a short time before had been a leading disciple. Bennett had aided in no small way in getting the Nauvoo Charter passed, and had subsequently been the recipient of high honours in the Church. The Mormons state that he was expelled for misconduct, while others say he was "cut off" for preaching a "spiritual wife" doctrine. At any rate, Bennett began to lecture against Mormonism, proclaiming everywhere that the Saints were practising polygamy. This new charge created a sensation. In defence the Mormons published an equally sensational story of Bennett's life in the Church, and gave reasons why he was " cut off."

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[1] The true story of the plates was disclosed in an affidavit made by W. Fulgate, of Mount Station, Brown County, Ill., on June 30th, 1879, when he swore before J. Brown, Justice of the Peace, that the "plates were humbug, gotten up by Robert Wiley, Bridge Whitton, and myself. Whitton, who was a blacksmith, cut the plates out of pieces of copper. Wiley and I made the hieroglyphics by making impressions of beeswax and filling them with acid." He describes the burial and the finding of the plates, and states that among the spectators at the "discovery" were two Mormon Elders, Marsh and Sharp. The plates were shown to Joseph Smith, and ultimately were given to a private museum in St. Louis belonging to a man named McDowell. This museum has been long dispersed, and the plates were either stolen or lost.

Now, there is not the slightest doubt that the Mormon leaders were then practising polygamy in secret—they had been doing so for some time; but polygamy, as it was then believed in, was the "privilege" of both sexes with certain restrictions, which was, at least, more logical and impartial than the polygamy practised and taught later on, and believed in to this day. Deny it as they may, Mormons—that is, those who know the history of their Church—are well aware that polygamy was in vogue among the heads of the sect many years before the "revelation" authorising it was given to the world. Certain factions still hold the view that Joseph Smith did not countenance the doctrine; but how they arrive at that conclusion is a mystery, and their contention is entirely untenable in face of Smith's own "revelation."

Probably it will be a surprise even to many Mormons to learn that one of the authenticated cases about this time related to Sarah Pratt, wife of the well-known Apostle, Orson Pratt. This Apostle was a keen follower of Smith, and had worked for Mormonism for years. He was an honest, earnest Saint, and, unlike many of his brethren, was respected by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. His wife was a lady of accomplishments, and was very good-looking. When Pratt was absent on a missionary tour, Joseph Smith, according to Mrs. Pratt's own testimony, proposed a "spiritual wife" union with her. Her indignation was more than the prophet bargained for; she left the Church at once. Thereupon she was refused the allowance due to her from her husband's labours in the mission-field. Dr. Bennett, who had just quarrelled with Smith, made the case known widely, adding exaggerations and misstatements of a disreputable kind, to which the prophet retorted by setting abroad a story casting reflections on Bennett's moral character.

In one version of this attack on Bennett the name of Mrs. Pratt was dragged in, and the scandal set the whole city of Nauvoo in a ferment. Orson Pratt returned home just when the disgraceful affair was being bandied about. He went to the prophet, and there received Smith's version. Pratt, who was devoted to his wife, was almost driven out of his mind by the allegations, and for some days he wandered about the surrounding country, refusing to allow Mrs. Pratt to explain her case or communicate with him in any way. At length mutual friends brought them together, and though an immoral woman named Fuller came forward with stories of the prophet's misconduct, and even went the length of offering proof thereof, the Pratts refused to have anything more to do with the disgusting affair, and Mrs. Pratt soon afterwards left Nauvoo. She never entered the Church again, and became anti-Mormon.

The notorious "Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, including the Plurality of Wives," was given to the world by the prophet on July 12th, 1843, and was written down by a Mormon, William Clayton, as Smith dictated it. It is still included in the publication of Smith's revelations which goes by the title of *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* The attempts made in recent years to convince outsiders that polygamy no longer exists, and is no longer believed in, will be dealt with later in this volume; for the moment we may content ourselves with tracing the development of the doctrine in the general history of Mormonism. The full revelation is very wordy—and ungrammatical—but as it is important, and is perhaps the most misquoted, as it is the most notorious, of the prophet's revelations, besides being a fair sample of the phraseology of the others, it is reproduced here exactly as printed for Mormon consumption:

> 1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; as also Moses,

David and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines:

2. Behold! and lo, I am the Lord thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter.

3. Therefore prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same;

4. For behold! I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory;

5. For all who will have a blessing at my hands, shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as were instituted from before the foundation of the world:

6. And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of my glory: and he that receiveth a fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord.

7. And verily I say unto you that the conditions of this law are these:—All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed, whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power, (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time, on whom this power and the keys of this Priesthood are conferred,) are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection of the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.

8. Behold! mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion.

9. Will I accept of an offering, saith the Lord, that is not made in my name!

10. Or, will I receive at your hands that which I have not appointed!

11. And will I appoint unto you, saith the Lord, except it be by law, even as I and my Father ordained unto you before the world was!

12. I am the Lord thy God, and I give unto you this

commandment, that no man shall come unto the Father but by me, or by my word, which is my law, saith the Lord;

13. And everything that is in the world, whether it be ordained of men, by thrones, or principalities, or powers, or things of name, whatsoever they may be, that are not by me, or by my word, saith the Lord, shall be thrown down, and shall not remain after men are dead, neither in nor after the resurrection, saith the Lord your God;

14. For whatsoever things remain, are by me; and whatsoever things are not by me, shall be shaken and destroyed.

15. Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me, nor by my word; and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world, and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore, they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world;

16. Therefore, when they are out of the world, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory;

17. For these angels did not abide my law, therefore they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but are angels of God, for ever and ever.

18. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me, or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power—then it is not valid, neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world, it cannot be received there, because the angels and the Gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory, for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

19. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto

whom I have appointed this power, and the keys of this Priesthood; and it shall be said unto them, ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life, that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, and if ye abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them in time, and through all eternity, and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fullness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

20. Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them. Then shall they be Gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.

21. Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye abide my law ye cannot attain to this glory;

22. For strait is the gate, and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and continuation of the lives, and few there be that find it, because ye receive me not in the world, neither do ye know me.

23. But if ye receive me in the world, then shall ye know me, and shall receive your exaltation, that where I am, ye shall be also.

24. This is eternal lives, to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent. I am he. Receive ye, therefore, my law.

25. Broad is the gate, and wide the way that leadeth to the deaths, and many there are that go in thereat; because they receive me not, neither do they abide in my law.

26. Verily, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder—wherein they

shed innocent blood—yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

27. The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven in the world, nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder, wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law, can in no wise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

28. I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me, and my Father, before the world was.

29. Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation, and sitteth upon his throne.

30. Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins,—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph,—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue, both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or, if ye were to count the sand upon the sea shore, ye could not number them.

31. This promise is yours, also, because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law are the continuation of the works of my Father, wherein he glorifieth Himself.

32. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved.

33. But if ye enter not into my law ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which he made unto Abraham.

34. God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? Because this was the law, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling, among other things, the promises.

35. Was Abraham, therefore, under condemnation? Verily, I say unto you, Nay; for I, the Lord, commanded it.

36. Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac; nevertheless, it was written, thou shalt not kill. Abraham,

however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

37. Abraham received concubines, and they bear him children, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law, as Isaac also, and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels, but are Gods.

38. David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.

39. David's wives and concubines were given unto him, of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant, and others of the prophets who had the keys of this power; and in none of these things did he sin against me, save in the case of Uriah and his wife; and therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion; and he shall not inherit them out of the world; for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

40. I am the Lord thy God, and I give unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things; ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word:

41. And as ye have asked concerning adultery—verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery, and shall be destroyed

42. If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery;

43. And if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow and hath committed adultery.

44. And if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent, and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and I reveal it unto you, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her, and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery, but hath been faithful; for he shall be made ruler over many;

45. For I have conferred upon you the keys and power of the Priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time.

46. And verily, verily I say unto you, that whatsoever you seal on earth, shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind on earth, in my name, and by my word, saith the Lord, it shall be eternally bound in the heavens; and whosesoever sins you remit on earth, shall be remitted eternally in the heavens; and whosesoever sins you retain on earth, shall be retained in heaven.

47. And again, verily I say, whomsoever you bless, I will bless, and whomsoever you curse, I will curse, saith the Lord; for I, the Lord, am thy God.

48. And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word, and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven;

49. For I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you your exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father.

50. Behold, I have seen your sacrifices, and will forgive all your sins; I have seen your sacrifices, in obedience to that which I have told you; go, therefore, and I make a way for your escape, as I accepted the offering of Abraham, of his son Isaac.

51. Verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham; and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice;

52. And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God;

53. For I am the Lord thy God, and ye shall obey my voice; and I give unto my servant Joseph, that he shall be made ruler over many things, for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

54. And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her, if she abide not in my law;

55. But if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him, and give unto him an hundredfold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds.

56. And again, verily I say, let mine handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses; and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she has trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

57. And again, I say, let not my servant Joseph put his property out of his hands, lest an enemy come and destroy him; for Satan seeketh to destroy; for I am the Lord thy God, and he is my servant; and behold! and lo, I am with him, as I was with Abraham, thy father, even unto his exaltation and glory.

58. Now, as touching the law of the Priesthood, there are many things pertaining thereunto.

59. Verily, if a man be called of my Father, as was Aaron, by mine own voice, and by the voice of him that sent me; and I have endowed him with the keys of the power of this Priesthood, if he do anything in my name, and according to my law, and by my word, he will not commit sin, and I will justify him.

60. Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph; for I will justify him; for he shall do the sacrifice which I require at his hands, for his transgressions, saith the Lord your God.

61. And again, as pertaining to the law of the Priesthood: If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else;

62. And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified.

> 63. But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall be with another man; she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world; and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that he may be glorified.
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> 64. And again, verily, verily I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my Priesthood, as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe, and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God, for I will destroy her; for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law.
>
> 65. Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things, whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor; and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife.
>
> 66. And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily I say unto you, I will reveal more unto you hereafter; therefore let this suffice for the present. Behold, I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.

Such was the revelation which Joseph Smith issued at Nauvoo, giving full licence for polygamy in his Church. Its amazing claims, its absurdities, its very obvious human origin, its miserable "direction" to Smith to keep hold of his property, and its topsy-turvy "reasoning" may be passed over—these will be considered later in the light of more recent events—but it may be remarked that the document still forms an important part of the basis of the Mormon creed. A more remarkable "revelation" was surely never given to the world by one claiming to be the prophet of the Almighty. Its references to Emma, Smith's wife, bear every indication that he foresaw one of his hardest tasks would be to silence her if she opposed her husband's wish to "take" more wives; and in this he apparently succeeded.

The "new and everlasting covenant" was certainly made known at an opportune moment. The fact was that polygamy, being already practised, required some sort of authoritative explanation, for the state of affairs in the community was causing not a little scandal. The "revelation" gave the necessary official sanction to the secret practise.

Prominent Mormons accepted the "new covenant" without hesitation, as they had accepted other "revelations." They were convinced of its Divine origin, or pretended to be convinced. Hyrum, the prophet's brother, "took" two extra wives. Brigham Young also "took" two. Others followed suit; but when the new "revelation" was mentioned at a council meeting shortly afterwards, William Law, a highly respected Saint, rose and said frankly, "If any man preaches that doctrine in my family, I will have his life."

Some of the Saints, too, seem to have forgotten that the wives might have something to say on the matter. Most Mormon women, it is true, were somewhat prepared for the new "revelation," and accepted it as part of their duty; but a few objected. One of the most notorious cases of this kind was that of Martha Brotherton, an English girl of considerable charm, who was "presented" by the prophet, it is averred, to an elderly Mormon who had long sought her in matrimony. The girl repeatedly refused to have anything to do with this would-be husband, and finally left Nauvoo to escape his attentions. Seeing her action, other women followed this course, and for a time some of the Elders and other office-holders hesitated to press their claims on the women they "desired."

The social conditions of Nauvoo rapidly deteriorated after the issue of the "revelation," and Smith seems to have allowed his ambition to run away with his reason. Governor Ford, who had his finger on the pulse of public affairs at this time, wrote a long account of the situation, in which he made the following statement:

"Owners of property stolen in other counties made pursuit into Nauvoo, and were fined by the Mormon courts for daring to seek their property in the holy city. To one such I granted a pardon. Several of the Mormons had been convicted of larceny, and they never failed in any instance to procure petitions signed by 1,500 or 2,000 of their friends for their pardon. To crown the whole folly of the Mormons, in the spring of 1844 Smith announced himself as candidate for President of the United States. His followers were confident that he would be elected. Two or three thousand missionaries were immediately sent out to preach their religion and to electioneer in favour of the prophet. . . . It seems, from the best information that could be got from the best men who had seceded from the Mormon Church, that Smith, about this time, conceived the idea of making himself a temporal prince as well as a spiritual leader of his people. He instituted a new order of priesthood, the members of which were to be priests and kings temporally and spiritually. These were to be his nobility, who were to be the upholders of his throne. He caused himself to be crowned and anointed king and priest far above the rest; and he prescribed the form of an oath of allegiance to himself, which he administered to his principal followers. To uphold his pretensions to royalty, he deduced his descent by an unbroken chain from Joseph, the son of Jacob, and that of his wife from some other renowned personage of Old Testament history. The Mormons openly denounced the Government of the United States as utterly corrupt, and as being about to pass away, and to be replaced by the government of God, to be administered by his servant Joseph.

"Soon after these institutions were established, Smith began to play the tyrant over several of his followers. The first act of the sort which excited attention was an attempt to take the wife of William Law, one of his principal disciples, and make her a spiritual wife." (This was the William Law who warned his fellow Saints in the council chamber against preaching polygamy in his family.) " By means of his Common Council, without the authority of law, he established a Recorder's office in Nauvoo, in which alone the titles of property could be recorded. In the same manner, and with the same want of legal authority, he established an office for issuing marriage licences to Mormons, so as to give him absolute control of the marrying propensities of his people. He proclaimed that none in the city should purchase real estate to sell again but himself. He also permitted no one but himself to have a licence in the city for the sale of spirituous liquors; and in other ways he undertook to regulate and control the business of the Mormons. This despotism, administered by a corrupt and unprincipled man, soon became intolerable. William Law, his brother, Wilson Law, Major-General of the Legion, and four or five other Mormon leaders resolved upon a rebellion against the authority of the prophet. They designed to enlighten their brethren and fellow citizens upon the new institutions, the new turn given to Mormonism, and the practices under the new system, by procuring a printing-press and establishing a newspaper in the city, to be the organ of their complaints and views."

Mormons, of course, deny every accusation which Governor Ford brought against them. They have always claimed that the Governor was actuated by blind hate of the sect, and they state that their prophet was slandered. That, indeed, has ever been their reply to accusations. But events were rapidly shaping which the prophet was unable, in spite of his " Divine calling," to prevent or turn aside. He was soon to face the last storm of opposition with which he was called upon to grapple. It was the storm which ended his career. It came swiftly, and it startled Mormons and non-Mormons alike by its tragic finale.

The newspaper which William Law and his friends started was called *The Expositor.* Its very first issue contained the statements of sixteen women who testified that Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders had attempted to betray them under the " new and everlasting covenant " doctrine. The result was pandemonium in Nauvoo. *The Expositor* had fearlessly applied the match to the gunpowder, and the whole city and surrounding districts seethed with excitement.

Smarting under the publication of the statements, the Common Council met hurriedly, and decided that *The Expositor* was a nuisance which must be abated. The Mayor (Joseph Smith) was called upon to see that it was suppressed. A warrant to this effect was issued to the City Marshal, who, with a portion of the Mormon Legion, proceeded to the printing-office, where they destroyed the press and scattered the type.

William Law and his friends fled the city, fearing for their lives, owing to the threats made against them by the Mormons. They arrived at the town of Carthage, and there procured warrants against Smith and members of the Common Council for the outrage. Governor Ford, hearing of the rioting that was taking place, set out for Nauvoo, and when he reached Carthage he found an armed force drawn up to assist in the execution of the process. He dispatched a messenger to Nauvoo informing the Mayor that the persons charged were to be sent to him, so that he could investigate the trouble.

" It was sufficiently proved in a proceeding at Carthage," wrote the Governor later, " that Joe Smith had sent a band of his followers to Missouri to kidnap two men who were witnesses against a member of his Church then in gaol, about to be tried on a charge of larceny. It was also a notorious fact that he had assaulted and beaten an officer of the county for an alleged non-performance of his duty, at a time when the officer was just recovering from a severe illness. It is a fact, also, that he stood indicted for the crime of perjury, as was alleged, in swearing to an accusation for murder in order to drive a man out of Nauvoo who had been engaged in buying and selling lots of land, and thus interfering with the monopoly of the prophet as a speculator. It is a fact, also, that his Municipal Court of which he was chief justice, by writ of *habeas corpus*, had frequently discharged individuals accused of high crimes and offences against the laws of the State; and on one occasion had discharged a person accused of swindling the United States Government, who had been arrested by process of the Federal Courts, thereby giving countenance to the report that he obstructed the administration of justice, and had set up a government at Nauvoo, independent of the laws and government of the State."

Armed with these charges against the prophet, the Governor dispatched ten men, with a constable, to make the expected arrests at Nauvoo, and to take the prisoners to headquarters. But in the meantime Smith had declared martial law in Nauvoo, and had called out the Legion under arms. The reason Governor Ford wished the accused persons to be taken to Carthage was that Smith and some of his followers had already been arrested in Nauvoo on a charge of riot; but they had been taken before the Nauvoo Municipal Court on *habeas corpus*—and, as was to be expected, had been discharged.

When the constable arrived, Smith and his friends agreed to surrender and be taken to Carthage the following morning; but when the time agreed upon came, the constable was informed that the prophet and his friends had fled. Without waiting further the representative of the law returned to Carthage.

What had happened was this: While the constable was at the gates of Nauvoo a hurried council of the leading Mormons had been called and flight decided upon. The subordinates were anxious that the prophet should be saved from his enemies, and a band started for the mountains. With Joseph was his brother Hyrum. But when they had crossed the river the prophet repented of the decision, and, turning back, he gave himself up.

It is stated on what claims to be good authority that the reason for Smith's return was a letter sent him by his wife, reproaching him for his cowardice; but another version says that his own friends reproached him when they were on the way. A son of Hyrum afterwards stated that the letter written by Joseph's wife was dictated to her by a Mormon councillor, William Marks, and he added: "When Joseph saw the letter his great heart nearly burst, and he said, 'If that's all my wife and friends care for my life, then I don't care for it,' and he returned and gave himself up. His blood rests upon William Marks and that woman, Emma Smith; and there it will rest until it is burned off in the fires of hell."

On the evening of June 24th Joseph and his friends went to Carthage, the prophet telling his friends that he was "going like a lamb to the slaughter." They surrendered, and the authorities allowed bail. But immediately after their case had been disposed of two men, named Spencer and Norton, applied for warrants against the two Smiths, having made sworn statements charging them with treason. As treason was not an offence in which bail was allowed, the prisoners were lodged in gaol in an upper room, and with them were confined two followers, John Taylor and Willard Richards. The Governor then disbanded part of the militia, and left Carthage for Nauvoo, where he intended to settle the trouble and calm the excited population.

But after Governor Ford left Carthage his official influence on the population vanished. The prophet and his three companions in their prison became oppressed with foreboding. They knew that matters had reached a crisis. Taylor sang to his companions, and exhorted them to be cheerful. The tragedy happened at sunset, about five o'clock.

An armed force of about a hundred men were seen by them approaching the prison. The militia on guard were some distance off—a small guard of eight men—and they were soon overpowered. Then the mob rushed the prison, intent on wreaking vengeance on the prisoners, and determined that the prophet should not escape a second time. They were soon inside, and filled the lower room ; a moment later they were mounting the stairway. Reaching the landing, the foremost of them fired at random through the door, and one of the shots mortally wounded Hyrum Smith.

The prophet had a revolver, apparently given him by one of his followers, and as the mob burst into the room he fired three times, the bullets, it is stated, finding a mark each time. Then he turned to the window, which had been thrown open, intending to try to escape. When halfway out he saw, with terror, that a crowd was in the prison yard below. He hesitated, and clung to the window-sill. But the mob in the yard fired a volley, and he fell, unconscious and wounded, to the ground.

In their rage the attackers made sure of the work they had started. Smith's body was lifted to a sitting position against the kerb of a well, and four men fired point-blank at his breast.

Thus died Joseph Smith, the founder and prophet of Mormonism.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S RISE TO POWER

Of the four prisoners in the upper room in Carthage gaol, only Willard Richards escaped unhurt. John Taylor was severely wounded, but he recovered; and though Governor Ford used every means in his power to punish those responsible for the crime of murdering the two Smiths, and four men were arrested and tried in 1845, the year following the tragedy, complications arose, and the four were acquitted.

Panic seized the citizens of Carthage when the news of the Smiths' deaths became known, for with the news came rumours that the Mormons had sworn vengeance. Many fled from the town, but fortunately the rumours were unfounded.

On the afternoon following the murder the bodies of the two brothers were brought to Nauvoo, where a crowd of at least 10,000 met the sad procession with every manifestation of grief. Willard Richards and other leading Saints addressed the people, advising them to be peaceful and leave vengeance to heaven. The coffins were buried with ceremony, but late that night the burial-place was disturbed and the coffins rifled. The desecrators, however, whose object was to obtain the head of Joseph for their own purposes, were foiled in the attempt, for they found that the coffins of the Smiths had been filled with stones and the bodies removed. The same night the remains of the prophet and his brother were buried by their followers beneath the Temple in Nauvoo; but a few days later the bodies were again removed to another resting-place by a select number of the faithful.

Joseph was thirty-nine years of age and Hyrum forty-four when they met their deaths, and for a short time it almost seemed as if the sect would be scattered for lack of a leader. Whatever Joseph Smith's faults, he had gathered round him a community which quickly forgot them in his decease, and he was canonised inasmuch as he had "sealed the truth with his blood." One who spoke with authority described the prophet to the present author as a man standing nearly six feet high, who spoke with a slight nasal twang, and possessed a rude energy and strength of character which gave him a magnetic power over his subordinates. Certainly his impress on the American continent was considerable. In the space of fifteen years he had, with the help of his followers, founded a new morality, given a new Bible to the world, developed a Church which had already spread its influence far beyond the western hemisphere, and had propounded a new theology and organised a social life with a success which is only now being fully recognised.

His height is not borne out by the statue erected in the Temple grounds of Salt Lake City, but he possessed a robust frame capable of enduring hardship. Not even the most flattering pictures in the possession of the Saints to-day incline one to assume that their prophet was intellectual in appearance. His forehead was long and receding, and phrenologists who have made a study of the shape of his head declare that "amativeness" was strongly developed. It is worthy of note that this man, who inaugurated and practised polygamy, left no polygamous offspring, and the power of his family in the Church he had created subsided with his death.

His wife, Emma, slid quietly out of active church life. She retained some property, and later married a Major Bidamon and became the landlady of Nauvoo

House, a sort of boarding establishment. It is difficult to get a definite statement as to her view of her husband's religion. After Joseph's death she openly stated that she never believed in his revelations, and published a card in the *Quincy Whig* in which she declared that she had always held his visions and revelations were the outcome of a diseased mind. But later still when her sons became active in an attempt to re-establish the Church as they believed it should be carried on, she seemed to aid and encourage them.

There was some confusion among the Nauvoo Saints following Joseph's death, for it was prophesied by several that he would rise from the dead to lead them. But the leaders of the people were under no misapprehension. They saw that if the Church was to survive it must be consolidated, and a new commander appointed to "carry on."

Before he died the prophet had "laid hands" on his eldest son, Joseph, ordaining him a "king and priest" in his stead; but later, evidently thinking of his successor, Smith stated that "the man was not born who would lead the Mormons; but a son shall be born of Emma Smith who will succeed to the presidency after a season of disturbance." This son was David Hyrum, born after his father's death, and for some time he was hailed as the future saviour of the Saints. The hopes of the Mormons in this direction were doomed to failure, however, for the Church was re-organised long before David reached the age at which he could lead.

In the meantime the eldest son, Joseph, was not quite sure of his position. Some time later he was "called" by a number of dissenting Mormons to be "the prophet" of the Church, and in 1860 became President of the "Re-organised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," a sect opposed to polygamy, and in many things antagonistic to the main body of Mormons.[1]

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[1] See Appendix on "Seceders from the Parent Church."

There were several other aspirants to the leadership of the community. Sidney Rigdon, who had been First Councillor to Joseph, put forward a strong claim, as did also William Smith, the prophet's brother. A member of the Church named James Strang gave forth a "revelation" that he was to lead the Mormons to Wisconsin.[1] But all claims were set aside by the action of Brigham Young, who, at the head of the Twelve Apostles, addressed a letter to "all the Saints in the world." It seems to have been a hard fight between Rigdon and Brigham, but after several meetings and discussions Brigham was elected in the prophet's stead; and a few days later the new prophet, Brigham, attacked Rigdon in a speech, and moved that he be "cut off" from the Church. About a hundred Mormons who attended this meeting are said to have opposed this motion, with the result that they were found to be "in a spirit of apostasy," and they too were "cut off." Rigdon then led off a small band of his admirers into Pennsylvania, and other small sections also left and started Churches of their own; but practically all those factions died out in the course of a few years.

Once Brigham had full control a new energy entered the Church. The building of the Temple at Nauvoo was continued, though the people were in poverty. But converts from Europe were coming to Nauvoo in considerable numbers. These provided much of the needed material for the future development of the Church, and Young soon had about him a consolidated membership which, if it did not love him, at any rate obeyed him. Anti-Mormon feeling broke out afresh, and was fostered by the anti-Mormon newspapers and other Mormon haters. Thefts and numerous crimes were blamed on the Mormons, some of the charges being unsupported by evidence, and non-Mormons formed societies with the object of expelling the Saints from

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[1] For the story of these and other claimants see Appendix on "Seceders from the Parent Church."

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
The Mormon "Moses," who led the great trek across the desert to Salt Lake.

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the district. Land in the possession of people living near Nauvoo fell alarmingly in value, as no one would buy it, and many exaggerated stories of Mormon offences gained currency. Several murders were blamed on Mormons, one case in particular causing the people of Iowa to break away from their hitherto neutral attitude.

This was the shocking murder, not far from Nauvoo, of a German, named Miller, and his son-in-law, both of whom had come to buy land, and were reported to have a considerable sum in their possession. They were brutally attacked in their house one night by three ruffians; but Miller, though a bowie-knife had been plunged twice into his breast, beat off his assailants, only to fall dead in his backyard. His son-in-law was frightfully wounded. The murderers were traced to Nauvoo, and two brothers named Hodges were arrested. Another brother, Amos, appealed to Brigham Young for their release, and Young granted the appeal, refusing to allow the two accused men to be taken to Iowa. A sheriff of the latter State then appeared with a force at Nauvoo, demanding the two Hodges as prisoners, and pointing out the grave consequences of a refusal, whereupon the two were handed over by Young. But immediately this occurred Amos Hodges went to Brigham, and, it is stated, threatened that unless his brothers were released he would inform in regard to other Mormon crimes. The sequel may have been merely a result of a private quarrel, but Amos Hodges was found next morning in a meadow with a knife through his heart. There is no proof that Brigham caused the murder of Hodges, or that he knew anything about it; but non-Mormons believed, and have stated, that he found a way of putting the man out of his path, lest he should involve prominent members of the Church in other affairs. The two brothers in prison were proved beyond doubt to have been the murderers, and were identified by the German's son-in-law before he died from the effects of his wounds. They were hanged in due course.

Many of the old complaints were now made against the Saints; that they refused to pay their debts, etc., and that non-Mormons found it impossible to get justice in Nauvoo courts. The Mormons declare that those stories were trumped up so that their enemies could find excuses for driving them from the city. The truth, they say, was that the Saints were mercilessly persecuted by mobs. It was evident to both sides that matters were rapidly coming to a head, and another exodus was only a question of time. Faced with this situation, which held out no alternative, the Mormons redoubled their efforts to complete the Temple in fulfilment of a revelation. Even the poorest of them gave his, or her, tenth towards the expense, and by the end of 1845 the building was so far advanced that thousands were "endowed" in its apartments.

In January of the same year the Legislature had repealed the famous Nauvoo Charter, and Mormons knew that their expulsion was now certain. The greatest efforts were made during the winter of 1845–46 for the removal. Timber was felled, cut, and boiled in brine to season it quickly; every spare house, and even the Temple, was pressed into the service as workshops. Over 12,000 waggons were built. Those who held land sold out at ridiculously low prices—they had no alternative—and on February 4th, 1846, the first company crossed the Mississippi. Ferries kept up the traffic day and night until the river froze, and then the exiles crossed on the ice. By the middle of February over 1,000 had landed in Iowa and made their first camp at Sugar Creek.

By May the Temple at Nauvoo was completed and dedicated, and hardly had the ceremony ended when the sacred vessels were removed and packed up and the building dismantled. By June nearly 16,000 Mormons were on trek to find a new resting-place.

An eye-witness of the great exodus stated that " from morning till night they passed westward like an endless procession. They did not seem greatly out of heart, but at the top of every hill, before they disappeared, were to be seen looking back on their abandoned homes and the far-seen Temple and its glittering spire."

The hardships of the journey were great, for the weather was cold, and they had only tents and waggons in which to sleep. Sickness broke out, but they trudged on, firm in hope and belief. It was the most remarkable flight of a people ever seen in the world.

There were still about 1,000 Mormons left in Nauvoo, and hardly had the exodus of the main body taken place when trouble broke out in the city. The Gentiles were headed by a ruffian named Brockman, who behaved with callous cruelty against the Mormon remnant, treating them as if they were only worthy of extermination, and finally driving them out in terrible weather to endure the agonies of winter without a covering. Many were actually taken from sick beds and placed in boats in the river with their friends, and told to row off. The refugees eventually all crossed to the Iowa side, where they erected tents; but scores of women and children died from lack of attention and hunger. Thus ended the Mormon attachment to Nauvoo.

The city was now entirely free of Mormon interests and influence, and so fades from this story; but it may interest the reader to know that its future was one of total decay. A period of speculation followed the exodus, only to end in collapse, and the shrinkage of the population to less than 1,000 souls. The Temple, on which so much labour and anxiety had been spent, was converted into a hall for social purposes, but was destroyed by fire in 1848.

The rapid decline of the once busy town of Nauvoo was the striking reply of history to Joseph Smith's prophecy that it would become " a great city, the gathering-place of the sect."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORMON VIA DOLOROSA

THE march of the main body of Mormons over the prairies westward, from the State which had received them with open arms but seven years previously, is in many ways the saddest incident in the history of this strange people. The Mormon *Via Dolorosa* it has been called.

At first there was apparently no definite objective in the trek, but after Brigham Young joined them (he had remained behind to settle certain affairs in Nauvoo) a temporary organisation was begun. He issued laws for the guidance of the "Camps of Israel," as they were called, encouraging recreation in order to divert the people's minds from their hardships. At Shoal Creek, near Charlton River, a final organisation was effected. Captains of "hundreds," "fifties," and "tens" were appointed. The exiles had with them cattle, sheep, horses, mules—in a word, every animal useful as a beast of burden, or for sustaining life. It was a city on the move.

During the first weeks the suffering of the people was intense. The streams and rivers were in flood, the winds were cold and damp, the prairies were sodden, and the nights cold and frosty. "Stakes," or camps, were established at various points, and fields were planted with grain by the advance guard for the benefit of those who followed. A woman who made the journey has recalled some of the miseries endured.

"All night," she stated, "the waggons came trundling into the camp with half-frozen children screaming with cold, or crying for bread; and the same the next day, and the next, the whole line of the march. . . . Many a mother hastily buried her dead child by the wayside, only regretting she could not lie down with it herself and be at peace."

Scores who had been frost-bitten died on the way, and the road was lined with graves; but no hardship could overcome the will to continue, even though a number deserted rather than face more suffering. Some time in July the main body reached the Missouri, and pitched camp at Council Bluffs. Here a number built boats and crossed the river, settling in the Pottawatomie and Omaha Indian land, where they named their resting-place Winter Quarters. Even then there was little rest for them. There was a great lack of clothing, fevers broke out, and in Winter Quarters alone over 600 graves were dug, about 200 being those of children who had succumbed to the hardships of the march.

While they lived here in the camps accusations were again made against the Saints, especially against Apostle Orson Hyde, who, it was alleged, organised a band of cattle and horse thieves to take animals from the settlers in the district; and it was also stated that counterfeit money was circulated. But this was all denied by the Mormons. It seems certain, however, that they were not altogether blameless, for the notorious Bill Hickman, one of the foremost of the Danite band, admitted that he became active in the vicinity. He stated in his alleged confession that he killed an Indian and two white men near Council Bluffs, and insisted that he did so at the order of Orson Hyde.

The camp would probably have been struck that season but for an unforeseen event, namely, the call of the United States Government for 500 volunteers from the Mormon ranks to help in the Mexican War. This "call" has always been the cause of much bitter feeling among the Mormons. They have always striven to prove their allegiance to their country, and they suspected, and still suspect, that the demand for men was merely a scheme to scatter them and destroy their hope of reorganising the Church. In the words of a Mormon historian, they "viewed it with alarm. Think of taking 500 of the young, able-bodied men, the flower of the camps, from their all but helpless ranks! . . . Their plight, too, brought about, they considered, by the nation now calling for help! Had it not thrust them from its borders?"

Captain Allen, of the United States Army, arrived at Council Bluffs to consult with Brigham Young on the question, and Brigham promptly replied, "You shall have your battalion."

It is advocated by the Saints that loyalty to their country alone brought forth this answer. At any rate, in three days a force of 549 men was mustered and ready to march.

The author wishes it were possible to allow this picture of loyalty to stand as a bright page in the gloomy history of Mormonism. But, unfortunately, it is necessary to state that the call for men does not seem to have been obeyed from patriotic motives. Those volunteers expected to be discharged from military service in California, and, as the Church had hopes of settling there, they would therefore be of service in preparing the way. Further, Brigham Young received 20,000 dollars on behalf of the volunteers as an advance bounty, intended for the support of their families during their absence. John D. Lee, of disreputable memory, and Major Egan marched with the battalion to Santa Fé, and returned with the first payment; and it is alleged by some of the Mormons that Brigham Young tithed it for the purposes of the Church, so that the families did not get all they expected.

The volunteers marched 2,050 miles to San Diego, through South Arizona and New Mexico, and across the " desert of death," enduring many hardships by the way. Some of them afterwards apostatised, and settled in California; but the majority made their way back to their brethren, who had by that time fixed their abode in Salt Lake Valley.

Those who remained at Winter Quarters began to build a strong camp meantime. Over 600 turf and log houses were erected, the town was laid out in streets; grist-mills, shops, and a tabernacle were added, and the whole "city" was fortified in the manner of all western camps at that time. Schools were also established, and missionaries were sent abroad, while a number of men went into the neighbouring States to find work. Several teams and supplies were also sent back to help those who were still toiling along in the rear.

The winter of 1846–47 passed in this way, and in January, 1847, Brigham Young issued a revelation on " The Word and Will of the Lord concerning the Camps of Israel in their Journeyings to the West." No one knew exactly where the journey would end, the main idea in the minds of the leaders apparently being to get beyond the jurisdiction of the United States Government. A member of the Illinois Legislature claimed later to be the real originator of the Utah objective.

This legislator knew William Smith, the first prophet's brother, and had, some time before the exodus, mentioned the Salt Lake Valley, which had been explored by Fremont. Brigham Young was attracted to the valley, which was then under Mexican rule and was included in California, on account of the possibilities for settlers and the fact that it was far removed from the track of civilisation. When plans were more matured, preparations were made to leave Winter Quarters, and " twelve-times twelve able-bodied men " were sent in advance. One fell ill, and returned to the camp, leaving 143, with three women and two children, to go ahead. They left Winter Quarters (now the town of Florence, Nebraska) about the middle of April, having with them

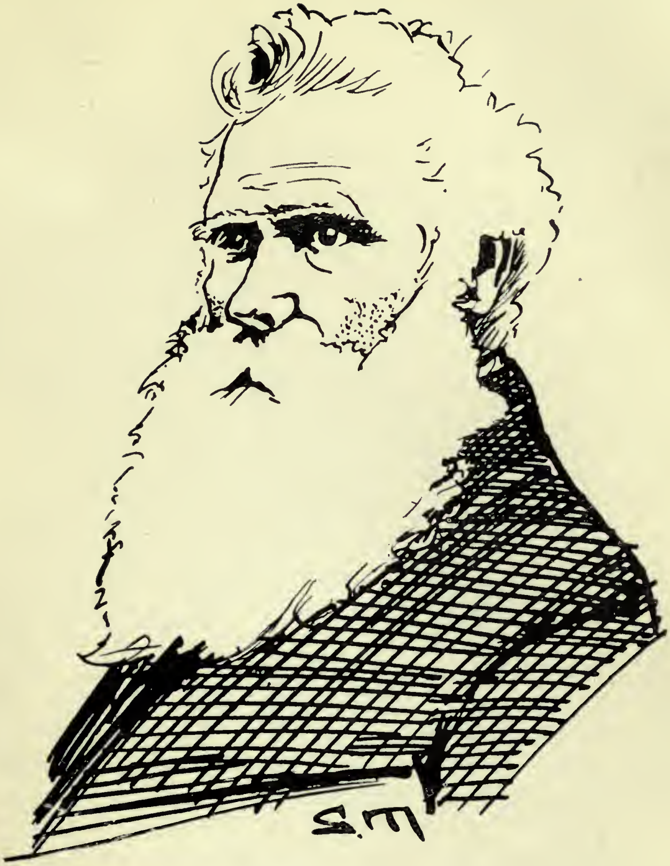
72 waggons, 93 horses, 52 mules, 66 oxen, 19 cows, 17 dogs, and a number of chickens.

About this time the Mormon camp was visited by General (then Colonel) Kane, of Philadelphia, who accompanied the pioneers part of the way, and was the guest of Brigham Young. Young had then, according to his own statement, four wives; yet when Kane returned to Washington he actually told the President of the United States that polygamy was non-existent among the Saints. When one learns that Kane is credited with having been baptised into Mormonism during his visit, one begins to suspect the reason for his astonishing report.

It is clear also that Brigham Young did not furnish the battalion for the Mexican War, as already mentioned, without some hope and expectation that the Church would get a return, for he now drafted an address to President Polk "expressive of the gratitude of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints towards him for his benevolent design of arming and planting 500 of our volunteers in California to take possession of that country." Some of the money received from the Government for the battalion was used to equip the pioneer band, who set out on the march on April 7th. On the following day they camped near the Elkhorn, and when sixty miles on the way Young organised them as a military company, with himself as lieutenant-general, and fourteen captains.

They proceeded along the north bank of the Platte River, following Fremont's trail, and when west of the Black Hills struck a trappers' trail for 400 miles. From Bear River they laid a new track through Emigration Cañon to Salt Lake Valley, the main body entering it on Saturday, July 24th, 1847.

The first man to enter Salt Lake Valley was Orson Pratt. This man's life was entirely devoted to the Mormon cause from the early days of the Church. He was one of the most intelligent men in the movement.



Orson Pratt,
The "St. Paul" of Mormonism and the first man
to enter Salt Lake Valley.

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Astronomer, pioneer, historian, it was he who was very often put forward by Joseph Smith, and later by Brigham Young, when any Government officials came to make inquiries.

It was pure accident which gave Pratt the honour of being the first man to enter the valley. It happened that, after leaving Fort Bridger, Brigham Young was attacked by mountain fever. This was likely to delay the advance of the entire body, and Orson Pratt, with a number of men and waggons, was ordered to go on ahead and camp on the shores of the Salt Lake. Pratt obeyed his instructions, and took the way down Echo Cañon, up East Cañon, and over the Wasatch range of mountains. They were three days' journey ahead of the main body, and from the summit of Big Mountain, on July 19th, Pratt, who was riding in advance with another Mormon named John Brown, caught the first glimpse of the valley. They did not reach it, however, until the 21st, when Pratt and Erastus Snow—the latter a messenger who had arrived with directions from Brigham Young—emerged from Emigration Cañon, some distance to the south of where Fort Douglas now stands. They had a single saddle-horse between them, and were riding by turns. It was a warm day, and Snow had taken off his coat and hung it loosely over the saddle-bow. He discovered later that he had dropped his coat somewhere, and he rode back into the mountains to look for it. Orson Pratt did not wait for Snow's return, but went on ahead, and landed on the banks of City Creek. He was then in what is now known as Salt Lake Valley.

The valley was not then the fertile place it is to-day. It owes its fertility to the Mormons, who, finding it a desert waste, have made it a smiling garden. Their fight with the grudging soil was fierce and exhausting; but they won through, though at a great cost, and they must be credited with braving privations and overcoming difficulties which would have overwhelmed a less hardy and determined people. The thin, clear air of the valley—Salt Lake City is 4,000 feet above sea level—must have acted as a refreshing bath to the tired limbs and shaken nerves of the party; and here, right up in the Rocky Mountains, free from any interference, the exiles made their home. They had not yet determined to make it their permanent place of abode, the Zion of the future; but events moulded their intentions to that end, notwithstanding the fact that other travellers who had seen the valley had shunned it as an inhospitable waste, and Daniel Webster, the statesman, had described it as a "vast, worthless area."

The day after their arrival the Mormons held two religious services, and on the Monday they began to plant potatoes and grain. On the fourth day the site of the Temple was selected by Brigham Young, who struck his staff into the ground, exclaiming, "Here we shall build a Temple." The building thus begun is the famous Temple which dominates present-day Salt Lake City. Companies were organised to scale the mountains and explore the district, and a plan for laying out a city was agreed upon. Timber was felled and hauled to the site, houses, mostly "adobes," were erected, and the ground was tilled.

Soon after their arrival the pioneers were joined by more than 100 of the volunteers who had gone to California in the Mormon battalion, and, after the preliminary work of breaking the ground was finished, efforts were made to extend a helping hand to the main body who had been left behind at Winter Quarters. By August the "Stake of Zion" had been established under the name of Great Salt Lake City; a river flowing into the lake was named the Jordan, and the surrounding creeks and cañons were also christened.

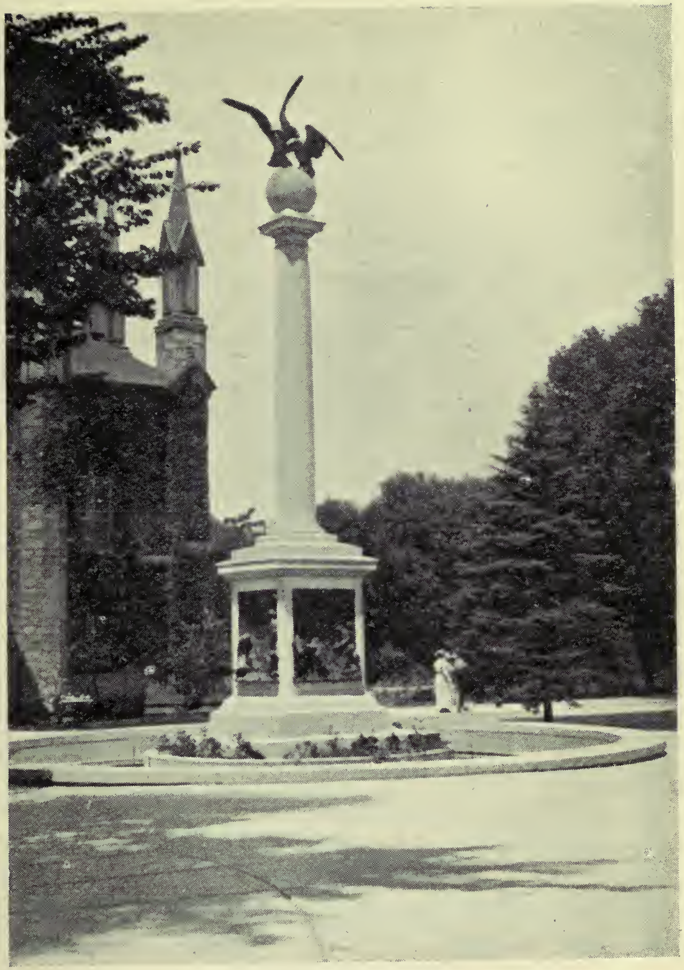
The whole region was named Great Basin. Then, the same month, Brigham Young and 107 men set out for Winter Quarters. Several companies were at this time toiling along towards Salt Lake, having been organised on similar lines to the band of pioneers, and Young's company met them on the way. There were great rejoicings at the meeting, and after a feast in Brigham's honour the latter continued on their way to Winter Quarters, the exiles resuming their march westward. Some deaths and a few births occurred on the way, and at length, by the middle of October, all the companies on the way had completed the journey. Those who remained at Winter Quarters were joined by Brigham and his followers on October 31st. The Mormons were now divided between two camps, one at Winter Quarters, the other at Salt Lake, and so they spent the winter of 1847–48.

At the former " stake " a council of the Apostles chose Brigham as their President on whom " the mantle of the prophet had fallen," and a general appeal was issued to the world calling upon all the Saints and " all presidents, and emperors, and kings, and princes, and nobles, and governors, and rulers, and judges, and all nations, and kindreds, tongues, and people under the whole heaven, to come and help us build a house to the name of the God of Jacob, a place of peace, a city of rest, a habitation for the oppressed of every clime."

There is no record of this appeal having been responded to outside the Mormon sect; but it is beyond doubt that the " stake " at Salt Lake was not then a place of rest—nor, indeed, for some time. As a matter of fact, the winter was particularly hard on the Mormons living there, though the weather was mild, with little snow. Potatoes, as has been stated, had been planted, and some of the volunteers who had returned from California brought with them wheat, corn, and garden seeds. But the arrival of the companies from Winter Quarters helped to deplete the already scanty store of provisions. On several occasions the whole community was faced with starvation. The beef at their disposal was poor in quality and small in quantity, and once when trying to dissect some of it Apostle Taylor suggested that the saw should be greased to make it work. The few who had a little store of provisions shared with those who had none, and every head of a family gave rations to his household "each one biscuit per day and as many sego roots as they could dig." Wolves, rabbits, sego, thistle, and other roots were eaten, while some of the populace were compelled to use the hides for clothing.

The most anxious time, however, was the following May and June (1848), when legions of crickets settled on the fields and gardens of the Saints, eating up every blade of the struggling crops. The settlers were filled with dismay at the plague. They organised war on the crickets; they slew millions, and lit fires, hoping to drive them off, and they prayed for relief from the starvation which threatened. All their hopes of surviving had been placed on the harvest which was being destroyed.

Just at the most critical point, when they were weary of the combat, they were amazed to see flocks of sea-gulls come sailing over the mountains; and at the sight their spirits sank to the lowest. "Here," they said, "are greater destroyers than the crickets." But the gulls began to feed on the crickets. They ate and gorged themselves till they were sick, and then they ate again, devouring the crickets, and thus rescuing the crops. The Mormons held, and still hold, the coming of the gulls as a definite miracle, a direct manifestation of the Almighty's providence towards them, for it enabled them to obtain a harvest. The gull is now a semi-sacred bird in Utah, the shooting of which is forbidden. A monument commemorating the incident has been erected only recently in the Temple grounds, at Salt Lake, and a very pretty monument it is. When in the city a few months ago the author discussed this incident with a leading Elder, a man of considerable importance in the Church, a relative of the present President, and suggested that the "miracle" might



The Seagull Monument, Temple Block,
Salt Lake City.

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reasonably be regarded as a natural phenomenon in the same class as the locust swarms in South Africa, and that the gulls were merely following the crickets, preying upon them ; but such a solution of the incident was rejected almost indignantly. The belief that the Mormon crops were saved by Divinely directed sea-gulls is firmly established among the Saints, and no other explanation suffices them.

The Mormons who were still left at Winter Quarters vacated the camp on Sunday, May 14th, 1848, under the leadership of Brigham Young, who publicly blessed the exiles before they set out. There were three companies, and when, on July 3rd, the last one started, Winter Quarters was practically deserted. Brigham's company arrived at Salt Lake on September 20th, and the others followed within a few weeks. They found that the crops of the first settlers were by no means abundant ; and all supplies were husbanded with extreme care. Hopes, however, were high, and no very great hardship was endured. At this period the necessity for population in order to carry out his great dream of colonisation again impressed itself upon Brigham's mind, and led to the development of another branch of the Church's activity. Young saw the enormous possibilities open to a numerically strong colony. The Church, as had been proved in the past, was bound to gain by the infusion of new blood and new enthusiasm. There were by this time 30,000 converts in Great Britain. Brigham saw in this reservoir the material he needed to colonise the mountain regions. Thousands of these converts were brought over to Salt Lake by missionaries, and other missionaries were dispatched to spread the Mormon doctrine in France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other European countries, with varying success.

In this and other ways the foundations of Mormonism as it is known to-day were laid, gradually and without interference from the outside world. There was no one, no political influence, no civil administration, to oppose the Church's development. But politics were soon to make their appearance, and the political history of Salt Lake City—and, indeed, of Utah—begins in the year 1849. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of the previous year gave to the United States possession of all that land now known as California, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona; and the Mormons were practically the only body of importance in that vast area. It cannot be maintianed successfully—though it is maintained, nevertheless—by Mormons that the effect of the treaty was welcomed by them. Under Mexican government they had a real independence, but the new division of territory put them once again within the jurisdiction of the United States. When the knowledge of the provisions of the treaty came to them, the Mormons set about the introduction of a civil government, and a Convention was called of "all the citizens of that Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to take into consideration the propriety of organising a Territorial, or State, Government." The Convention met in Salt Lake City in March, when a memorial, signed by Brigham Young and 2,270 others, was dispatched to Congress asking for a Territorial Government "with the least possible delay"; and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution pending the decision of Congress. Meanwhile a provisional Government was organised, and chose for the territory the name of State Deseret. No name had yet been given by the United States Congress, but the Mormons adopted Deseret, as prophetic, and Brigham Young was elected Governor. A General Assembly, consisting of Senate and House of Representatives, was also elected; and in July this General Assembly met and drafted another memorial, this one praying for the admission of Deseret as a State. Nearly a year later Congress, at Washington, rejected the name of Deseret, and chose that of Utah, the new title being adopted from the tribe of Ute Indians who lived in the territory.

Captain Stansbury, of the United States Army, who had been engaged surveying Salt Lake Valley, and had remained in the district for about a year on exploration work, presented a report to Washington which was favourable to the Mormons ; and other parties, it is stated, assured the President that polygamy was no longer practised. On these recommendations Brigham Young was retained as Governor.

It is not necessary to dig deeply into the various phases and changes of the Government of Utah during the short period of comparative peace which followed for a few years, for events of greater importance before long completely overshadowed minor quarrels between non-Mormon officials and the Mormon leaders. One of the Associate Judges, P. E. Brocchus, soon found himself in difficulties. Brocchus began the trouble by opposing polygamy. A Mormon historian says that he "shamefully abused the people and their institution," and was "severely rebuked by President Young." Another authority states that the Judge's life was threatened because of his opposition. He left the territory, and was soon followed by the Secretary, B. D. Harris, the latter taking with him 24,000 dollars provided by the Government to pay the Legislature. He did this, he said, because Brigham Young had exceeded his authority in a number of ways ; and Washington upheld the Secretary's action. Henceforth the Judge and the Secretary were spoken of by Mormons as "runaways." Both officials resigned after publishing their reasons for leaving Utah, and in their places were appointed Lazarus H. Reed, Chief Justice, Leonidas Shaver, Associate Judge, and Benjamin G. Ferris, Secretary. Judge Shaver lived on good terms with the Mormons, but quarrelled with Brigham Young ultimately, and one morning was found dead in bed. A thorough investigation of the circumstances was made by the Church, and a coroner's jury found that he had died from natural causes. Chief Justice Reed died when in New York. Ferris, the Secretary, began to write strongly against the Saints, and was cordially hated by them as the result.

The next officials appointed were Chief Justice J. F. Kinney, Associate Judge G. P. Stiles, and Judge W. W. Drummond. The two latter are blamed by the Church as being " chiefly instrumental in bringing about the 'Utah War.' " Almon W. Babbitt was made Secretary. During all this time there were many opponents of Mormonism, who alleged, on what seems reliable testimony, that several persons had been shamefully treated by them, and some had been killed. Almon Babbitt came to loggerheads with Brigham Young. He was murdered one night on the prairie. No one ever discovered who was responsible for this crime. Mormons said the Indians killed Babbitt, and Brigham, in referring to the incident, remarked that Babbitt had " lived like a fool, and died like a fool," which statement supported, or gave rise to, a rumour that Young knew more about the affair than he cared to tell.

In spite of such incidents Mormonism at this period spread rapidly, and the desert was rapidly being converted into a fairly fertile land. Between Bear River and the Great Basin no fewer than thirty settlements had sprung up. Mills and mines were developed, and public buildings were erected. Congress was asked to construct a railway and a telegraph to the Pacific Coast, the argument in favour of this being that a vast volume of traffic would therefore pass overland from east and west, facilitating transportation and bringing trade to Utah.

If anything had been wanting to settle the Church's attitude on the question of polygamy, that want was supplied at a conference in Salt Lake City in August, 1852, when the practice was publicly avowed. This was the first time that " plural marriage " was openly stated to be one of the important points in the Mormon creed, though all the leading Elders and Apostles and other prominent Saints already had more than one wife each. Brigham Young, the husband of several women, made the important announcement, and at the same time propounded the doctrine of "celestial marriage," which includes polygamy. In Anderson's *Brief History of the Church*, a Mormon publication, the author states in regard to this momentous declaration that "Brigham Young saw fit to publicly proclaim this consoling doctrine" —celestial marriage—"including also that portion of it relating to a plurality of wives—the latter a principle which Joseph Smith and the leading Elders only had hitherto privately entertained and practised, because it came into conflict with the prejudices, education, traditions, and sentiments of the age." One must search far before meeting with a more remarkable defence—if it is meant to be a defence—of a doctrine which civilisation abhors and condemns.

When Brigham's first term as Governor was approaching its close, the President of the United States refused to appoint him for a second time owing to the number of unsavoury stories in circulation against the Mormon leader, and offered the position to a Colonel Steptoe, who was on his way to California with troops. The Colonel, however, according to certain accounts, was not a very prudent man, and fell into a trap laid for him by two women who acted as decoys for Young. To avoid exposure the Colonel resigned his commission, and recommended Brigham for the position; and this memorial had the desired effect. This story of Colonel Steptoe's downfall is, like every allegation brought against them, indignantly denied by Mormons, who assert that Steptoe's report to Washington was spontaneous and generous to the whole sect, and was signed by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. In any case, Young secured the Governorship, and threw all his energy into his schemes for developing Utah; and colonisation continued apace.

CHAPTER SIX

THE "HANDCART" TRAGEDY

Two events of outstanding importance, namely, the "handcart" tragedy and the Mormon "war," characterised the years 1856–57. Both were events of sad calamity and misguided energy which are unparalleled in the history of any sect in the world. Both are explained by the Mormons as having arisen from causes entirely different to the causes advanced by anti-Mormon and non-Mormon historians and witnesses; but the testimony of scores of persons who participated in these events discounts much of the Mormon contentions. Love of Church, combined with the necessity of upholding an organisation which professed Divine inspiration, is doubtless responsible for the ingenious attempts made to minimise the lack of forethought—to call it by no harsher name—which dictated the "handcart" tragedy, and also to fix the blame for the "war" on United States Government officials and anti-Mormons. The truth reveals a series of frightful and lamentable mistakes on the part of the Mormon leaders—mistakes which arose out of foolish fanaticism, domineering bravado, and aggressive defiance.

Whoever was responsible for the "handcart" venture accepted a grave responsibility, involving the peril—one might say the sacrifice—of hundreds of human lives. It is scarcely possible to lay blame on any one person, but it is believed that the idea originated in the fertile brain of Brigham Young. At any rate, he and other leaders organised the ambitious and foolhardy enterprise.

The immigration from Europe to Salt Lake City had been progressing slowly; but many thousands were still waiting to make the trip from Liverpool, and it was to facilitate the journey of these converts across America that the proposition was advanced to construct small handcarts in which each man could haul his own baggage and provisions. The city of Iowa was the point at which the outfitting took place. There were three companies in all who started on this long journey of over 1,100 miles, and they were composed mostly of English converts. The carts were made in a hurry, many of them being of timber insufficiently seasoned, and were constructed of two parallel oak sticks about five or six feet long, connected by one cross piece at one end which served as a handle, and several pieces a few inches apart at the other end to form the bed of the cart. This "body" rested on a pair of light wheels, and each person was allowed less than twenty pounds of baggage in the cart, the heavier provisions and tents being hauled in waggons. Five tents and one waggon drawn by three oxen were allowed to each 100 individuals, and about 500 persons composed each company.

The first company made the journey safely, and entered Salt Lake Valley at the beginning of autumn. The second company did not leave till the second week in August. It was composed of 120 able-bodied men, some elderly men, 300 women and children of walking age, and 70 infants of tender years. A prophecy gave the detachment faith in the success of their long trek; but one courageous man, Levi Savage, who had already been to Salt Lake, opposed the journey. He urged that the risk of approaching winter was too great to ignore, and suggested a delay until the spring; but he was reprimanded by the Elders for lack of faith, and ultimately this weak company of enthusiasts set out, singing the well-known Mormon hymn of which the first two verses are:

A Church without a prophet is not the Church for me;
It has no head to lead it, in it I would not be;

But I've a Church not built by man,
Cut from the mountain without hand,
A Church with gifts and blessings, oh, that's the Church for me,
Oh, that's the Church for me, oh, that's the Church for me.

The God that others worship is not the God for me;
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see;
But I've a God that lives above,
A God of power and of love,
A God of revelation, oh, that's the God for me,
Oh, that's the God for me, oh, that's the God for me.

Those who, like the author, have crossed the Rockies, traversed the desert, forded the rivers, and toiled up the mountain sides of the Great Divide, can fully appreciate the difficulties that lay before this band of immigrants. Even under favourable conditions the journey is hard, and Mother Earth is pitiless. What must it have been for those men, women, and children unaccustomed to the strain of camping in the wilds amid the snows and storms of winter? The author has stood on the rim of the mountains over which those converts to Mormonism struggled with weary bodies and wearier souls, and in viewing the mighty chain of hills, whose average height is greater than that of the Swiss Alps, he has been filled with amazement at the faith—or the foolishness—which led them to suppose that the journey would be other than highly dangerous.

After seven long weeks of toil they had reached the heart of the mountains, still over 400 miles from their destination. Winter was setting in, and provisions were giving out. Mr. J. H. Beadle, at one time Clerk to the Supreme Court of Utah, states in his work on the Mormons that "it was then that the inborn nobleness of the English race shone out. Men toiled on day after day, hauling on the carts, and even carrying women and children, wading ice-cold streams with the feeble in their arms, in many cases carrying their little children in the morning and themselves dying before night. Fainting fathers took the scanty rations from their lips and fed their dying children;

mothers carried their babes till they sank exhausted in the snow."

In this condition the detachment, or what was left of it, struggled on. Members died daily, and children were frozen to death; for some days the average number of deaths was over half a dozen. And as they struggled on the survivors grew weak from lack of food and exposure. Fires built at the camping grounds could scarcely be kept alight owing to the lack of fuel, and every step after darkness had set in was an adventure courting disaster. Men died at the tent doors while eating their rations, and the whole company would have perished had not a relief party set out from Salt Lake City and reached them just in time. More than one-fifth of the detachment had by that time found relief in death. The remainder reached the city on November 9th.

But severe though the trials of the second contingent were, the hardships endured by the third were still greater. This last detachment was composed of 600 souls, who began the march at the end of August, ignoring the warnings of incoming plainsmen and travellers. Like the company which preceded them, they started out singing:

Our faith is with the handcarts,
  And they have our hearts' best love;
'Tis a novel mode of travelling,
  Devised by the Gods above.

Hurrah for the camp of Israel!
Hurrah for the handcart scheme!
Hurrah! Hurrah! 'tis better far
Than the waggon and ox-team!

And Brigham's their executive.
  He told us the design,
And the Saints are proudly marching on
  Along the handcart line!

Hurrah for the camp of Israel! etc.

But by the time they reached the mountains they had ceased to sing. They were worn out by storms, and many were sick and fainting; they soon recognised their own feebleness, and sat down to await death in a valley in the wildest country in the United States. They consumed all their provisions while they sheltered in this valley, unable to go backward or forward because of the storms that raged over the peaks. They killed their cattle and ate them, even to the hoofs and hides. They ate the grease intended for the axles of their hand-carts. When that was finished they began to eat the bark of trees and roots of herbs. They were at this stage when the relief party found them and supplied them with nourishment. After terrible toil the survivors limped into Salt Lake City.

Some of the survivors of that trek have left behind vivid pictures of their hardship. A young woman from Hereford, who afterwards lived in Salt Lake City, was made a widow on the way. Her husband pulled the cart so long as he was able through the snow, but it was too much for him.

"All at once," states the young woman in recalling the scene, "he began to sink, and called to the captain:

"'Oh, captain, let me ride in the waggon.'

"'No,' was the rough answer, 'you can't.'

"'For God's sake, captain, just a little way.'

"'No, no. Hurry up!'

"My husband soon sank down in the snow. I lifted him up, and tried to get him in the cart—I felt like I could pull him. He said the tyre on the cart-wheel was too cold for him to touch it—the snow was warmer—and went down again. In three hours he was dead. The captain came, jerked off my husband's heavy shoes, and then hurried me on."

Mr. Hans P. Freece, a well-known anti-Mormon of New York, published in 1908 a series of letters written by his father on Mormonism, one of which dealt with the "handcart" journey. Freece the elder was one of several converts from Denmark when he made the march to Zion.

" We were divided," he says, " into ' hundreds ' and ' tens ' after the custom of the Israelites, and a man named Rowley was my captain. We had been instructed to build small handcarts after a special design given to Brigham Young by God. We assigned two men to a cart, and a very nice young man was my partner. The first day's journey was delightful, but before long the wheels broke off. It seemed strange that these carts, specially designed by the Almighty and warranted by Him to stand the journey, should wear out so soon. Yet it did not occur to any of us that we might possibly be dupes. In a few weeks I was utterly worn out, and finally fell to the ground unable to proceed farther. My wife hitched herself into my place, and, with a strange man, toiled day after day, pulling the cart, while I toiled on behind the best I could. Besides pulling at the cart all day, when evening came she had to prepare food for eight persons. She was but a girl, a bride of a few months, taken from the ballroom, as it were, from the pleasures of girlhood, and had given up all to go with me into Mormondom. All was disappointment to her, and her life was being filled with hardships. I was delirious with the mountain fever, and she had to care for me. Still worse, the entire company was running short of food. There was nothing left but a little flour, and soon that was gone. But we must move on, on, on. Men grew weak, and fell in their tracks. I shall never forget one evening, while lying in the tent, that the captain said to my wife's father just after the camp had been pitched, ' Your wife has fallen by the roadside some distance back.' My wife was by the fire trying to prepare some ox-soup, and I could see the awful struggle she was having to stifle her tears. Soon her father returned, carrying her mother on his back. She was more dead than alive. We buried her next morning before we left the camp. We had left Florence Hill with a few ox-teams to draw heavier loads, but they had died one by one, and we were now not only without food, but we had double loads to draw. Some of the sick and worn oxen were killed and we made soup. This we drank with a relish without bread or vegetables. Naturally the entire company was diseased.

" I recall one morning while camping near a stream that we discovered some berries on the bushes. As we were finding relish in them the cry was raised that a relief party from Salt Lake was in sight. I will never forget the cries of joy that rent the air, the prayers offered, and the tears of gladness that were shed. The poor souls fell over each other begging and crying for food. I was able to move towards the waggons by the aid of a stick in my right hand. Some fell, and were unable to rise. Some rolled down the hill and embankment. It seemed an age before we could get anything out of the waggons. Flour and water were stirred together and poured into the frying-pan, and as soon as it was hard we seized and ate it. I never tasted anything so delicious. No man knows what it is to suffer for food until he has tried it. I remember a young mother with a babe who was often trailing far behind. I wondered how she could keep up her strength without food. It afterwards developed she picked her food from the carcases which we left lying along the trail. There was a girl in her teens who had left a home of luxury against the will of her parents to go into Mormondom and save her soul. Reared in luxury, she was now offering her gold ring for a meal of flour. With tears in her eyes she cried piteously, ' I am so hungry —so hungry ! ' The provision train brought needed relief, but not until many had died. However, when we entered Salt Lake there was plenty, and we who had survived forgot our sufferings, and took joy in the fact that we were now in Zion among the Lord's anointed."

A fair estimate of the number of deaths of these companies on the way and after the arrival at Salt Lake puts the figure at 300, but besides these a large number were maimed for life, some losing a limb, some an eye, others fingers and toes. One English girl who had lost both feet through frost-bite was for many years a familiar figure in the city streets, shuffling along on her footless limbs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE " BLOODY REFORMATION " OF 1856–57

IT seems to have been perfectly true, as stated in one of the testimonies given in the last chapter, that the survivors of the terrible journey over the mountains were soon happy in Salt Lake City. They entered it at the time that a great " reformation " was in progress, and the Elders and Apostles were preaching to the population with renewed earnestness. But this revival was of a kind which did much to brand Mormonism as a creed of abnormalities; one is tempted to call it a reaction from eccentric sanity to devastating madness.

The reaction may be accounted for in some measure when it is remembered that the Church held few men of more than average mental calibre, and the newly-found power, political and social, gave them an opportunity they had never before experienced to develop the eccentricities of their creed in an altogether unheard-of way. They interpreted the Bible and the *Book of Mormon* in their own method; they were far from any interference by civilisation; there was no restraining influence on their wild imaginings. It would almost appear, indeed, as if the whole Church went mad; certainly it became possessed of ideas which no sane organisation was, or is, likely to hold, for this revival gave birth to the terrible doctrine of " blood-atonement," which, with polygamy, has done more to rouse the hatred of non-Mormons than any other of their peculiar " revelations."

Many have sought to find the origin of the " blood-atonement " doctrine, which seems to have been the special eccentricity of the reformation period. After considerable search one is inclined to the conclusion that " blood-atonement " was suggested to its originators simply because the Church leaders were then obsessed with the similarity of certain periods in their history to the story of the Israelites. Every Hebrew simile had been cited during the long series of persecutions and wars with the non-Mormons through which they had passed. Their Church, it was preached and believed, was but undergoing in the nineteenth century what the Israelites had undergone in the past. The Church was " in bondage " ; the non-Mormons were the Amalekites who would be ultimately " slain " ; the Saints of this last dispensation were in the wilderness of Zin ; at present they were suffering for their righteousness, etc. Examples of this continual comparison of their own which the Israelites' pilgrimage are frequently met with in Mormon literature of the period, and also in all Mormon sermons which have been preserved. Over and over again one finds such references in the " revelations " of Joseph Smith, while zealous missionaries, preachers, Elders and teachers all sought to emphasise their arguments by appealing to these similies, and in finding others for themselves. The New Testament was seldom quoted, or, at any rate, quoted much less than was the Old Testament.

Consider also that the population of Mormondom was at this time mostly recruited from the lower and humble classes of Europe—all new converts eager to find justification for their faith. The older Saints had mostly spent the greater part of their lives in the sect. Put such a population in the midst of a wild, unexplored mountainous region, supply it with a set of revelations calculated to enflame their enthusiasm, and leave them alone, and a certain similar result may be confidently expected : diseased minds, fanatical enthusiasts, minds prone to develop a "kink," as Scottish people say. Eccentric interpretations of Scripture by minds neither diseased nor tainted, but just honestly muddled, add to the result. This seems to be the most charitable explanation of the Mormon "reformation" of 1856–57. It was one of the most terrible periods in the history of the Church.

When the survivors of the three companies from the east arrived in Salt Lake City, they found the revival in full blast. Jedediah M. Grant, First Councillor to Brigham Young is generally mentioned as the first man to preach "blood-atonement," and he was one of the most active spirits in the "reformation." Elders and teachers were appointed to carry the spirit of revival among the people, and in this direction they seem to have excelled themselves. The attempt to purify the people and purge them to a state of repentance went the length of expecting, and in many cases to constraining, fellow Saints to confess secret sins and shortcomings. Men, women, and young people were asked indelicate questions; secret thoughts were laid bare. These confessions were written down, signed, and taken away by the "confessors."

It is stated that Brigham Young actually prepared a catechism for these examinations of the faithful, but, owing to the rising indignation at the indecent questions therein, every copy was gathered in and destroyed. Polygamy was indulged in to an increasing and alarming extent, young girls being advised, for their souls' sake, to marry elderly men "tried in the Church," and therefore more able than young ones to secure salvation for women. Young women were compelled to break off engagements and love-ties with young men, and were married to men who could have been their fathers; and there is proof that girls as young as fourteen years were "sealed" to old Mormons for the life beyond the grave.

One hesitates to write it, but there is weighty evidence that even worse things were practised. Incest? Yes, incest also.

Before allowing himself or herself to be shocked, let the reader but consider that polygamy practised on a large scale among a comparatively small population was bound to result in this gross horror. The intermarriage of near relatives was inevitable. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was not infrequent. Robert Sharkey, a merchant of Salt Lake City, married three sisters, one of whom was divorced from her first husband to become his wife. They all lived in the same house. Sharkey committed suicide in 1868 owing to domestic and other troubles.

Two of Brigham Young's wives were sisters—Clara Decker and Lucy Decker, the latter having previously been the wife of Dr. Seely, of Nauvoo. Bishop Smith, of Brigham city, had two of his brother's daughters "sealed" to him for eternity; and Brigham Young performed the ceremony. Indeed, the marriage of uncle and niece was sufficiently common as to be accepted without comment, and the marriage of first cousins was quite usual.

The Church has never published the sermons in which this disgusting doctrine was approved, though such sermons were delivered. The subject has been avoided in these later days, but Brigham Young's observations on the question are interesting. On one occasion only did he speak of the matter to an outsider, the person thus honoured being William Hepworth Dixon, who makes the following comment, and gives an account of his interview with Mormon leaders in his book *New America*:

"Perhaps it would be too much to say that in the Mormon code there is no such crime as incest, and that a man is practically free to woo and wed any woman who may take his eye.

"We had a very strange conversation with Young about the Mormon doctrine. I asked him whether it was a common thing among the Saints to marry mother and daughter; and, if so, on what authority they acted, since that kind of union was not sanctioned either by the command of Moses or by the revelation to Smith. When he hung back from admitting that such a thing occurred at all, I named a case in one of the city wards, of which we had obtained some private knowledge.

"Apostle Cannon said that in such a case the first marriage would only be a matter of form; that the elder female would be understood as being a mother to her husband and his younger bride, on which I named my example, in which an Elder of the Church had married an English woman, a widow, with a daughter then of twelve; in which the woman had borne four children to this husband; and in which this husband had married her daughter when she came of age.

"Young said it was not a common thing at Salt Lake.

"'But it does occur?'

"'Yes,' said Young. 'It occurs sometimes.'

"'On what grounds is such a practice justified by the Church?'

"After a short pause he said, with a faint and wheedling smile: 'This is a part of the question of incest. We have no sure light on it yet. I cannot tell you what the Church holds to be the actual truth—I can only tell you my own opinion; but you must not publish it—you must not tell it—lest I should be misunderstood and blamed.'

"He then made to us a communication on the nature of incest, as he thinks of this offence and judges it; but what he then said I am not at liberty to print. As to the facts which came before my own eyes, I am free to speak.

"Incest, in the sense in which we use the word—marriage within the prohibited degree—is not regarded as a crime by the Mormon Church.

"It is known that in some of these saintly harems the female occupants stand to their lords in closer relationship of blood than the American law permits. It is a daily event in Salt Lake City for a man to wed two sisters, a brother's widow, and even a mother and daughter. In one household in Utah may be seen the spectacle of three women, who stand toward each other in the relation of child, mother, and grand-dame, living in one man's harem as his wives! I asked the President whether, with his new lights on the virtue of breeding in and in, he saw any objection to the marriage of brother and sister. Speaking for himself, not for the Church, he said he saw none at all. What follows I give in the actual words of the speakers:

"Dixon: 'Does that sort of marriage ever take place?'

"Young: 'Never.'

"Dixon: 'Is it prohibited by the Church?'

"Young: 'No; it is prohibited by prejudice.'

"Kimball: 'Public opinion won't allow it.'

"Young: 'I would not do it myself, nor suffer anyone else when I could help it.'

"Dixon: 'Then you don't prohibit and you don't practise it?'

"Young: 'My prejudices prevent me.'

"This remnant of an old feeling brought from the Gentile world, and this alone, would seem to prevent the Saints from rushing into the higher forms of incest."

It is not our intention to dwell on a very unpleasant subject, but the above admissions by the man who was the Church's prophet, who was supposed to receive revelations from the Almighty on any and all questions, and who was able to influence and guide the beliefs of every Mormon are surely a sad and halting set of excuses which leave him condemned as much as an open admission would have done.

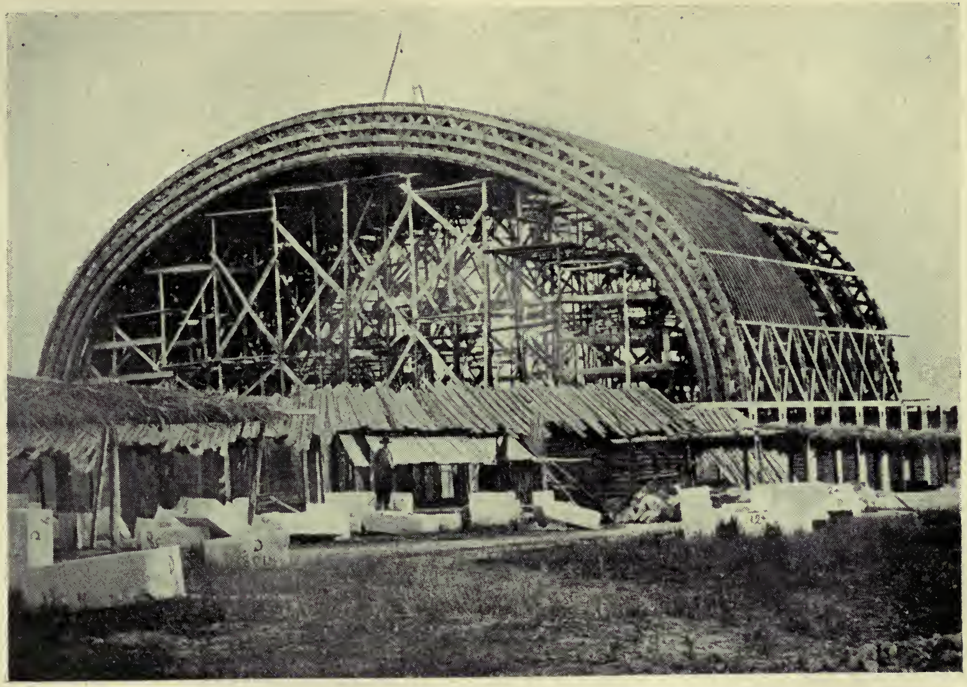
And now let us pass to the question of "blood-atonement." Many of the sermons which were published in the Mormon publication *Journal of Discourses* boldly defend the doctrine. Councillor Jedediah M. Grant, who, as has been stated, is credited with being its first exponent, approached the question during a sermon on the Commandments delivered in March, 1854, in the course of which he said:

"There is another odd commandment. The Lord God commanded them not to pity the person whom they killed, but to execute the law of God upon persons worthy of death. This should be done by the entire congregation, showing no pity. I have thought there would have to be quite a revolution among the Mormons before such a commandment could be obeyed completely by them. For instance, if they can get a man before the tribunal administering the law of the land, and succeed in getting a rope round his neck and having him hung up like a dead dog, it is all right. But if the Church and Kingdom of God should step forth and execute the law of God, oh, what a burst of Mormon sympathy it would cause!

"I wish we were in a situation favourable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influence of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions; that the People of God might lay the axe to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit might be hewn down."

It did not take long for the main ideas lying behind this sermon to be spread. In a discourse in the tabernacle on February 8th, 1857, Brigham Young made some striking statements, and propounded his interpretation of the Divine command to "love thy neighbour as thyself."

"All mankind love themselves," he said. "Let these principles be known by an individual, and he would be glad to have his blood shed. This would be loving ourselves even unto an eternal exaltation. Will you love your brothers or sisters likewise when they have a sin that cannot be atoned for without the shedding of their blood? That is what Jesus Christ meant.



The Tabernacle in course of building.

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He never told a man or woman to love their enemies in their wickedness. Never. He never meant such a thing. His language is left as it is for those to read who have the spirit to discern between truth and error; it was so left for those who can discern the things of God. Jesus Christ never meant that we should love a man in his wickedness.

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance—in the last resurrection there will be—if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil until our elder brother, Jesus Christ, raises them up and conquers death, hell, and the grave. I have known a great many men who have left this Church for whom there is no chance whatever in exaltation, but if their blood had been spilled it would have been better for them.

"The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle being in force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force. . . . This is loving our neighbour as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; if he wants salvation, and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it! . . . Now, brethren and sisters, will you live your religion? How many times have I asked that question: Will the Latter-day Saints live their religion?"

Many similar utterances, endorsing the doctrine of "blood-atonement," are revealed by a perusal of the sermons preached at Salt Lake at this time, and, as was the case when polygamy was first suggested, precedents were cited in the Old Testament: the slaying of his brother by Phinehas, Jael, who slew the heathen, Jacob's readiness to sacrifice Isaac, and others. It is not proposed here to detail every crime charged or proved against this misguided people who were taught, and who carried out, this terrible doctrine; a few cases typical of all need only be given.

A case of castration occurred at San Pete. There was the instance of the Parrish murders at Springville, in which an old man was hacked to pieces with a bowie-knife. His eldest son was also shot dead, and another son wounded. Parrish's only crime, apparently, was that he would not believe in Mormonism. On March 1st, 1857, he was condemned to death by a gang of Danites, and two of them, Abraham Durfee and Duff Potter, were told off to act as decoys and lure the sentenced man to his doom. But when the attack was made in the darkness, Potter was killed by mistake by his confederates. The crime caused a great sensation. The son who survived, though wounded, was accused of the crime of killing his own father and brother, and a trial, little better than a farce, took place. But Utah was astounded later when J. M. Stewart, a Mormon official at Springville, confessed to the plot, and added that it was carried out at Brigham Young's orders.

The Mormons, as usual, denied all knowledge of every crime charged against them; but much has been laid bare by apostates from the ranks, who were immediately denounced as wicked men by the faithful. Only a month after the Parrish crime a young man, named Henry Jones, and his mother were murdered at Payson, near Springville. These victims were accused of a foul action just before they were killed, and Jones was horribly mutilated. Their house, a "dug-out," was their grave; it was wrecked on top of them.

But the saddest and worst of all the crimes of that year of madness concerned a Salt Lake missionary and his wife. On his return from a tour the wife confessed unfaithfulness. The husband forgave her, but both recognised that she would never be "exalted" unless she paid the price of her sin with her blood. She consented to the punishment, and as she sat upon his knee they kissed each other, and the next moment he drew a knife across her throat. For many years after that crime the husband remained in the city with his other wives, a full member of the Church and a preacher of the Gospel according to Mormonism.

There were many among the more educated of the Saints who were opposed to the actions of the wilder fanatics ; but those who retained their mental equilibrum during the extravagances and mad excesses of the " reformation " would only have endangered their own lives by speaking out, and it was not until the period of " revival " had passed that the Church became aware that the Government at Washington intended to interfere in the government of the Territory of Utah. The outcome of that attempt on the part of Washington to dominate Utah was the Mormon " war " of 1857, which, with an account of the Mountain Meadows massacre, will now be related.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MORMON " WAR "

In the record of Mormonism one looks in vain for any lengthy period entirely free from strife, and here, in Utah, disruptions, having an origin in many respects similar to those of the past, were soon to break out and convulse the whole country. The conflicting elements which now appeared in Utah were practically the same as led to the Mormons being driven out of Illinois and Missouri in previous years ; the only difference apparent was that in Utah the Mormons already governed the Territory, and when the " war " broke out it found them better prepared to combat.

The chief difficulty in pursuing the story of Mormonism is, as has already been stated, the conflict of the evidence of the Saints with that of non-Mormons on almost every incident. Anti-Mormons in some cases have been as guilty of exaggerations in citing Mormon crimes as Mormons have been guilty in suppressing facts for the sake of the fair name of their Church. Consequently a certain amount of " evidence " of both sides, after it has been sifted, must be cast aside as worthless. In this connection may be mentioned the charge made by some anti-Mormons against the Saints regarding the murder of Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison and his party in 1853 near Lake Sevier.

Gunnison had assisted Captain Stansbury in his survey of the Salt Lake Valley, and while surveying a railway route had camped on the Sevier. On October 25th he and his party were massacred. Eight Indians were arrested on suspicion by Colonel Steptoe, whose visit to Utah has already been mentioned, and three were found guilty of manslaughter. There can be no doubt that Indians were the perpetrators of the crime, but the story gained currency in anti-Mormon spheres that the Mormons were behind the scenes, egging on the Indians. This allegation cannot be upheld, and must now be disregarded, for there is nothing substantial to support it. Gunnison was always on good terms with the Mormons, and wrote a work on the Saints at that period, and in his honour they named Gunnison, in San Pete County, after him.

When we come to the origin of the Mormon "war" of 1857 and the Mountain Meadows massacre, however, there are official documents available to which appeal may be made, apart from the usual mass of conflicting statements. The "war" undoubtedly arose out of friction which had been long developing between the non-Mormon officials of the Territory and the Saints. The population of Utah had increased rapidly, and in January, 1856, was placed officially at 76,335. Jedediah M. Grant had established a settlement in Morgan County, and Orson Hyde had penetrated to Carson Valley (now in Nevada), where another colony had been formed; but during the "war" the latter settlement was broken up. George Q. Cannon, then a young man, who became one of the foremost Church leaders later, and might have become its supreme head but for personal quarrels, had gone, with others, to San Francisco, where he started the *Western Standard*. About this time Cannon's translation of the *Book of Mormon* into Hawaiian was published.

When those developments were going on abroad, the position of the Church in Salt Lake district was not so happy. Judges Stiles and Drummond, who had been appointed by the Washington Government in place of Judges Reed and Shaver, deceased, soon quarrelled with Brigham Young and the Saints. Mormons to-day explain that the characters of those Judges were " so low and vicious as to command no respect." Of the two, Drummond was the more disliked, Stiles being dismissed as a " characterless, renegade Mormon." The Saints did not make much effort to meet the claims of the Federal officials, and the friction increased. The local Legislature—and here was the kernel of the trouble—had passed an Act giving the Probate Courts " power to exercise original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, as well in chancery as in common law, when prohibited by Legislature enactment." This Act caused endless complications and confusion. Federal officials declared that their courts were constantly being thwarted in their attempts to administer justice, and that the Mormons were trying once again to get the full control of civil affairs into their hands. They complained to headquarters at Washington that the lower courts were nullifying the powers of the higher courts. The Mormons, on the other hand, complained that unless they had powers in the Probate Courts they would be helpless.

By the autumn it was impossible to continue the work of the courts, as the two Judges were ignoring the authority of the lower courts. Under these conditions matters soon came to a head. One day several Mormon officials and lawyers, including Josea Stout, whose name is known to every Saint, and James Ferguson, entered Judge Stiles's court-room at the head of a mob and compelled him to adjourn. A Mormon lawyer, Thomas Williams, who shared an office with the Judge, protested against the intrusion, and was threatened for his pains. A short time later, when Williams found that he was the object of suspicion, he set out for California. He was murdered on the way.

The records of Judge Stiles were taken from his office, and, finding the place too uncomfortable, he fled with Judge Drummond, thus leaving Utah without a United States representative. On reaching Washington, Judge Stiles made an affidavit to the effect that his records were stolen and destroyed (they were produced by the Mormons under remarkable conditions some months later), and that his court was rendered powerless. Judge Drummond's letter of resignation, dated March 30th, 1857, gave as his reasons for resigning the constant insults which the Federal officials had to endure from Mormons, and the theft of the records of the Supreme Court. He charged Brigham Young with having improperly pardoned criminals, with advising juries before trials what verdict to bring in, and he concluded by suggesting that a new Governor be appointed and given military protection.

The reports of the two Judges, supplemented by other complaints, went to the then President of the United States—President Buchanan—who took measures to deal with the situation. But Utah was a long way off, and it was difficult to get officials interested in conditions there; and the result was the badly planned, badly executed scheme to dispatch an armed force with new officials to take over the territory.

The first intimation which the Mormons received of the Government's intention was brought to them on the eve of July 24th. They had assembled at Big Cottonwood Lake, about twenty miles from Salt Lake, to celebrate Pioneers' Day, the great annual occasion of Mormon festivity. Dancing was in progress when a messenger from the east rode into camp and informed Brigham Young that an army was on the way, bringing with it the new officials. The mails to Utah had been stopped, so that the news was a complete surprise, and spread dismay through the festive crowds. Hastily, but without panic, the people were called together, and were addressed by their prophet.

"Liars," said Brigham, "have reported that this people have committed treason, and upon their representations the President has ordered out troops to assist in officering this Territory. . . . We have transgressed no law, neither do we intend to do so; but as for any nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper, it shall not be."

There was no immediate fear, for the army, numbering about 3,000, was still a long way off, and it was not until September that the troops reached Utah. Congress was not in session at the time, but the force had been sent by War Secretary Floyd, who had full authority. The new Governor intended to supplant Brigham was Alexander Cumming.

On September 8th Captain Van Vliet was sent in advance of the troops to purchase provisions, and to reassure the population of the peaceful mission on which they had come; but he found the Mormons preparing for war. The Captain had an interview with Brigham Young, in which he pointed out that the object of the Government in sending troops was simply to install the new officials; the Government had not the slightest intention of molesting peaceful citizens. Replying to the Captain, Young said: "I believe you tell the truth, that you believe this; but you do not know their intentions as well as I do. . . . We have plenty here of what you want, but we will sell you nothing. Further, your army shall not enter this valley."

The Captain remonstrated with Young, pointing out that, even if the Mormons could defend themselves against this force, a larger one would be sent. To this Brigham replied: "We are aware such will be the case. But when these troops arrive they will find Utah a desert; every house burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste." This resolve to defeat the object of the army was repeated by other leaders; and Captain Van Vliet says in his report:

"In the course of my conversation with the Governor and influential men in the Territory I told them plainly and frankly what I conceived would be the result of their present course. I told them that they might prevent the small military force now approaching Utah from getting through the narrow defiles and rugged passes of the mountains this year, but that next season the United States Government would send troops sufficiently to overcome all opposition. The answer to this was invariably the same: 'We are aware that such will be the case. But when those troops arrive they will find Utah a desert; every house burned to the ground, every tree cut down, and every field laid waste. We have three years' provisions on hand, which we will *cache*, and then take to the mountains and bid defiance to all the powers of Government.'

"I attended their service on Sunday, and in the course of a sermon delivered by Elder Taylor he referred to the approach of the troops, and declared they should not enter the Territory. He then referred to the probability of an overpowering force being sent against them, and desired all present who would apply the torch to their own buildings, cut down their trees, and lay waste their fields, to hold up their hands. Every hand in the audience, numbering over 4,000 persons, was raised at the same moment."

After those experiences the Captain returned to Washington, and handed in his report. His expedition had been unsuccessful, and the troops had been withdrawn; but Washington decided on more vigorous methods. Meanwhile Brigham Young, as soon as the troops had been withdrawn, proclaimed martial law throughout Utah. The old NauvooLegion was mustered,and about 2,500 men were ordered to prepare to resist the United States soldiers.

The Government at Washington, having organised a large force, ordered its advance, under the leadership of General Johnston. This army reached Green River, then the boundary-line of Utah, and at this place the following remarkable document was handed to the General:

Governor's Office, Utah Territory,
Salt Lake City,
September 29, 1857.

SIR,—By reference to the Act of Congress, passed September 9th, 1850, organising the Territory of Utah, published in a copy of the laws of Utah, herewith, p. 146, Chap. 7, you will find the following:

> "Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the executive power in and over said Territory of Utah shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office for four years, *and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified*, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The Governor shall reside within said Territory, shall be Commander-in-Chief of the militia thereof," etc., etc.

I am still the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this Territory, no successor having been appointed and qualified, as provided by law, nor have I been removed by the President of the United States.

By virtue of the authority thus vested in me, I have issued and forwarded you a copy of my proclamation, forbidding the entrance of armed forces into this Territory. This you have disregarded. I now further direct that you retire forthwith from the Territory by the same route you entered. Should you deem this impracticable, and prefer to remain until spring in the vicinity of your present encampment, Black Fork, or Green River, you can do so in peace and unmolested, on condition that you deposit your arms and ammunition with Lewis Robinson, Quartermaster-General of the Territory, and leave in the spring, as soon as the condition of the roads will permit you to march. And should you fall short of provisions, they can be furnished you by making the proper applications therefor.

General D. H. Wells will forward this, and receive any communications you may have to make.

Very respectfully,

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory.

It does not seem to have entered into the calculations of the Mormon leaders that the Governor of a Territory was risking grave issues in forbidding the United States Government, which appointed him, to trespass on the land under his jurisdiction. The situation was really Gilbertian. Every pass and cañon in the mountains had been occupied by Mormons, with orders to prevent the passage of the troops. Brigham Young and his lieutenants delivered addresses to their flock breathing defiance of the "enemy"; and in one of these speeches

Brigham went so far as to say: "They say that their army is legal. I say such a statement is as false as hell, and that they are as rotten as an old pumpkin that has been frozen seven times and then melted in the harvest sun. Come on with your thousands of illegally ordered troops, and I will promise you, in the name of Israel's God, that you shall melt away as the snow before a July summer."

Heber C. Kimball, one of the Apostles, urged the people to stand by Brigham, telling them that "all who are against Israel are an abomination to me and to our God. . . . Brother Brigham is my leader; he is my prophet and seer, my revelator; and whatever he says, that is for me to do, and it is not for me to question him one word, nor to question God a minute."

Several murders, attributed to the Mormons, were committed while they were preparing to meet the United States army. An Indian trader, named Yates, was caught in Echo Cañon and accused of being a spy. He was promised, at his request, that he should be taken to Salt Lake City and given a regular trial; but as he lay in camp that night his skull was shattered by a blow from an axe wielded by Bill Hickman, the notorious Danite. Hickman wrote in his confession that he had been ordered to do this by his superiors.

A party of six persons, it is alleged, was attacked south of Salt Lake as they came from California, and four were killed. The others were ordered out of Utah, and left under a guard. They were never heard of again; but Alice Lamb, a woman who had deserted Mormonism, stated they were killed, and their bodies buried in a well.

It must be confessed that the army now sent against the Mormons was badly organised, and courted disaster from the first. Many of the officers and officials were accompanied by their wives and families, while the army leaders were handicapped by lack of knowledge of the country. Daniel Wells, the Mormon General, successfully carried out his plans to stampede the animals belonging to the army; he set fire to their supply waggons, burned the grass before the troops and on either side of them, and kept them day and night in a state of tension and fear of surprise attacks. Wells was the Mormon De Wet on this occasion, and maintained his policy of harassing the enemy with conspicuous success. He blocked roads by felling trees across the tracks, and he destroyed the fords of the rivers.

In Captain Lot Smith he had an apt pupil. By Wells's orders Smith made a most important capture at Green River, taking three of the army's supply "trains," consisting of 75 waggons loaded with tents and provisions; and he burned the lot, and drove off several hundred animals. The army drivers, about 80 in number, were allowed to go free, but were directed eastward, and were given some provisions. Less than a score reached safety, the remainder being slain by Indians, or dying of cold and hunger.

By the middle of October the officers commanding the troops, knowing that winter was coming on, decided to go into winter quarters, as no military operations could be carried out in the storms then due. They camped at Black Fork, and here the sufferings of the troops were terrible. They had to haul their timber through deep snow from the mountains, and their tents gave little protection. In one night 500 animals died of cold; little wonder that Black Fork was named the Camp of Death. Meanwhile juvenile Mormons were singing this popular ditty, specially composed in celebration of their victory:

Old Sam has sent, I understand,
Du dah!
A Missouri ass to rule our land;
Du dah! Du dah day!
But if he comes we'll have some fun,
Du dah!
To see him and his juries run,
Du dah! Du dah day!

Chorus: Then let us be on hand
By Brigham Young to stand;
And if our enemies do appear,
We'll sweep them from the land.

Old squaw-killer Harney is on the way,
Du dah!
The Mormon people for to slay,
Du dah! Du dah day!
Now if he comes, the truth I'll tell,
Du dah!
Our boys will drive him down to hell!
Du dah! Du dah day!

Chorus.

There's seven hundred waggons on the way,
Du dah!
And their cattle are numerous, so they say,
Du dah! Du dah day!
Now to let them perish would be a sin,
Du dah!
So we'll take all they've got for bringing them in!
Du dah! Du dah day!

Chorus.

The "Missouri ass" of the first verse of this inspiring song was Governor Cumming, who had been appointed to take Brigham Young's place; but, in spite of the rejoicing, the wiser Mormons knew they could not hope to hold out against the Government reinforcements which would be sent after the snow had melted. As General Johnston's army had entered camp for the winter, the Mormons returned to their homes, well aware that nothing could happen till the spring.

Now, though those in Utah did not know it, events were shaping in the east which put the Government in a ridiculous position, and made the Mormon victory even more complete. Those events were political in their nature—how often has the political log been rolled so that larger considerations have been side-tracked by smaller ones!—and once again political parties failed to grasp the situation in its proper proportions. The Republican element at Washington actually began a campaign of criticism against President Buchanan's administration for their own ends, accusing the Government of violating the doctrine of territorial home rule; but, in spite of these attacks, a larger campaign was prepared. President Buchanan, in a speech to Congress on December 8th, effectively disposed of the criticisms, and at the same time replied to Brigham Young's "ultimatum" to the troops in which the latter claimed that "no successor had been appointed." Said the President:

> The people of Utah almost exclusively belong to this (Mormon) Church and, believing with a fanatical spirit that he (Young) is Governor of the Territory by Divine appointment, they obey his commands as if they were direct revelations from heaven. . . . Without entering into a minute history of occurrences, it is sufficient to say that all the officers of the United States, judicial and executive, with the exception of two Indian agents, have found it necessary for their own safety to withdraw from the Territory, and there no longer remains any government in Utah but the despotism of Brigham Young. This being the condition of affairs in the Territory I could not mistake the path of duty. As chief executive magistrate I was bound to restore the supremacy of the constitution and laws within its limits. In order to effect this purpose I appointed a new Governor and other Federal officers for Utah, and sent them with a military force for their protection, and to aid as a *posse comitatus* in case of need in the execution of the laws.
>
> With the religious opinions of the Mormons, as long as they remain mere opinions, however deplorable in themselves and revolting to the moral and religious sentiments of all Christendom, I have no right to interfere. Actions alone, when in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States, become the legitimate subjects for the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. My instructions to Governor Cumming, have therefore, been framed in strict accordance with these principles.

When matters were about this stage Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who, it will be remembered, had already come in touch with the Mormons, left New York, with the sanction of the President, to arrange a peace, if possible. The Colonel sailed for San Francisco under the name of " Dr. Osborne," and reached Salt Lake, where he had an interview with Brigham Young. Then he went to the camp of General Johnston to meet the new Governor Cumming; but General Johnston, not being fully aware of his mission, believed him to be a spy. Cumming, however, smoothed over matters, claiming the right to protect Kane on the ground that he was his guest; and, as Kane was the bearer of a conciliatory message from Brigham, he and Cumming left for Salt Lake. The new Governor was delighted at the reception given him as they approached the Mormon headquarters. Echo Cañon was illuminated that night in his honour, and after an interview with Brigham Young he was convinced the army could be dispensed with.

One of the surprises of this meeting was the production by the Mormons of the records which Judge Stiles had complained were stolen from his office. The records, Governor Cumming was informed, had merely been kept all the time in security! Colonel Kane returned to Washington to report the success of his mission; peace had been restored, and all that was required to complete the negotiations was the withdrawal of the army.

In June a Peace Commission arrived at Salt Lake, bearing a full and free pardon for all past seditions and treason for all Mormons who would submit to national authority; but Brigham Young did not accept it without remarking: " I thank President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I really cannot tell what I have done. I know one thing, and that is that the people called Mormons are a loyal and law-abiding people, and have ever been. It is true that Lot Smith burned some waggons containing Government supplies for the army. This was an overt act; and if it is for this that we are to be pardoned, I accept the pardon."

Among the other conditions of the peace, the Mormons stipulated that the army should not be quartered within forty miles of the city; that they should march through without halting, and must not encamp until they had reached the other side of the River Jordan. This was agreed to, and on June 26th the troops marched through the almost deserted city to the south, where they founded Camp Floyd. The appearance of Salt Lake City was a revelation to the soldiers. Practically every house was emptied, and through the open doorways could be seen shavings and straw piled on the floors, the few guards who remained being ready, torch in hand, to set fire to the dwellings, as Brigham Young had threatened, should any outrage or looting be attempted. Far in advance of the troops the population of 30,000 souls were streaming southward—to what destination they did not know, but many believed they were off to Mexico.

Governor Cumming, who had observed the exodus, was amazed and afraid, for he saw all his hopes wrecked and more complicated questions arise than those which had just been settled. He pleaded with the moving multitude to remain in their houses; and those who were in the great procession tell how he stood in the street, tears racing down his cheeks, imploring them not to leave him. He issued a proclamation promising protection "to all illegally restrained of their liberty in Utah"; but no one paid any heed to it. An appeal to Brigham brought the answer: "We know all about it, Governor. We have on just such occasions seen our disarmed men hewn down in cold blood, our virgin daughters violated, our wives ravished to death before our eyes. We know all about it, Governor Cumming."

Brigham himself did not know where they were going. He had hinted that they would go "to the deserts and the mountains," where they would plant new settlements. They did not go to the deserts, for when they reached the town of Provo an order to return was issued, as the army was now far from Salt Lake City. It is probable that this recall was issued, or was largely influenced, because of the fact that thousands of the refugees could go no farther. Many, indeed, were so reduced that they were unable to return, and lived for some time on roots and what game could be found in the mountains; children and adults dressed themselves in sheep-skins, as their clothing was reduced to rags. It was disaster to go on and disaster to turn back. The hardships endured in former years during their march across the plains were repeated, and those who remained at Provo found no relief until the following year, when, with those who returned, they reaped an abundant harvest, and gave great thanks for the victory over the army. The troops remained at Floyd Camp until 1860, and by the following year the last company had left the Territory.

So ended the so-called Mormon "war"—a disturbance which in these days would be classified as little more than a skirmish. It was an unsatisfactory affair from the point of view of the United States Government, and it gained for the Latter-day Saints a certain amount of sympathy, inasmuch as it demonstrated their willingness to sacrifice their homes, at the dictation of their leaders, rather than submit to "the persecution by the Gentiles." The expedition cost the Government nearly fifteen million dollars, and it accomplished little. It was merely another example of the half-hearted, hesitating methods which had characterised much of the Utah administration directed from Washington. One of its almost immediate effects was to give an impetus to Mormon activities, while it covered the Government with ridicule. And the Mormons did not feel any regret on that score.

CHAPTER NINE

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

In order to relate the full story of the worst of the crimes charged against the Mormons—the Mountain Meadows massacre—it is necessary to stray for a little from the main chronicle. The massacre occurred at the time the " war " was agitating the public mind, and, though explanations have been made by the Saints with the object of proving the blamelessness of their leaders in the sordid affair, an entirely satisfactory account of this, the blackest page in their history, has never been given.

More than 130 immigrants, men, women, and children, were foully murdered in the ravine known as Mountain Meadows on the " divide " between the waters which flow to the Salt Lake Valley and those which flow into Colerado ; and, in spite of the fact that many Mormons knew of the shameful crime almost as soon as it occurred, nearly twenty years passed before the ringleader was executed for his part in the affair. Over and over again has the author been told by Mormons that the leaders of the Church knew nothing about the massacre until the searchlight of the courts was trained on the matter, and that then they shared the public horror, and at once " cut off " the man who was found guilty. But that plea, as will be seen, is useless. The prominent Mormons could not have been in ignorance of the crime all those years. They *must* have known.

Brigham Young, according to sworn testimony, certainly knew of the massacre immediately after it took place; and it has been alleged that if he did not direct it, at any rate all his energies were not exercised to prevent it. Yet, strange to say, it is hard to put one's finger on the direct origin of the crime. Those writers and other persons who know least of the circumstances have got over the difficulty by stating that the real origin was that the Mormons coveted the goods of the immigrants; others have suggested their fanatical hatred of Gentiles; a few have traced the cause to the desire for revenge.

It is probable that all three motives played a part. A non-Mormon who lived for many years in Salt Lake City, having arrived there about the time of the Lee trial, gave it to the author as his opinion that the massacre was the Mormons' revenge for the killing of Apostle Parley P. Pratt by Hector McLean. Pratt was one of the best known and most enthusiastic of Mormon missionaries of his day. He was adored by his followers, and he had written much on behalf of his creed.

On his return from one of his missionary tours in Arkansas, Pratt brought with him one of his converts, Mrs. Hector McLean, and in Salt Lake City the two were married. Mrs. McLean had left her husband for the missionary; and Pratt had already five wives when this marriage took place. In the year 1856 Pratt and his latest wife went back to Arkansas on another missionary tour, and while on this journey Mrs. McLean made an attempt to take her children—who were then with their father, her legal husband—back to Utah. This fresh invasion of his home aroused McLean more than the loss of his wife did, and he came after Pratt, thirsting for revenge. An opportunity presented itself in due time. A charge of abducting McLean's children was brought against Pratt at Fort Smith, Arkansas; but to save her new husband from the law Mrs. McLean took all the blame, and Pratt was released. He fled, pursued by Hector McLean.

Mrs. McLean (or, as she may be called, Mrs. Pratt) afterwards gave an account of the incident, and told how the people of Fort Smith regarded the chase as good sport, and cheered her ex-husband on the way. McLean overtook Pratt on the plains. Riding up behind him, he struck the Mormon down with his bowie-knife, and shot him as he lay on the ground. McLean was not arrested for this, his plea being the "unwritten law."

There is no direct evidence to show that the murder of Parley Pratt had any connection with the massacre at Mountain Meadows, and in dealing with this dark tragedy it is specially necessary to sift all evidence carefully. The account given in these pages is culled from sources most likely to be reliable: the confession of John D. Lee, the Mormon Bishop who led the murderers, the main witnesses at the trial of Lee, and the confessions of the militia who acted under Lee's directions. A considerable amount of "evidence," more livid than accurate, has been advanced, and has found acceptance in certain quarters in regard to the massacre; but it will be seen that the facts are sufficiently terrible in themselves, and require no "writing up" to cause the reader to experience a thrill of horror.

There were 130 persons in the "train" of immigrants bound for California; many were related, and several were comparatively wealthy. Among them were a number of young women, a German doctor, and some young men from the town of Vermont; while there were several children under the care of their parents. They had 40 waggons, about 200 horses and cattle, some riding horses, and their goods were considered to be of more than ordinary value. The Mormon "war" had made the Latter-day Saints suspicious of newcomers; but this company did not show any inclination to loiter in the Territory, and owing to the frigid, not to say hostile, reception with which they were met in various towns, they left the beaten track and began a detour over the plains. At Cedar City they saw signs of trouble ahead, judging from the attitude of the citizens; but they kept going till they reached the ravine known as Mountain Meadows. Here they camped in order to overhaul their vehicles and rest their horses before starting the long desert journey that lay ahead. And here the bloody tragedy took place.

John D. Lee, Bishop of the Mormon Church and agent for the Indians in that part of the country, called a council of his fellow Mormons, and informed them that he had received a revelation to "attack the cursed Gentiles, and let the arrows of the Almighty drink their blood." The Mormons at this meeting were reminded that the Gentiles in this "train" came from Missouri and Arkansas, in both of which Territories the Saints had been persecuted and derided. It was pointed out that the first prophet of the Church, Joseph Smith, and his brother Hyrum had been murdered in Missouri, and past events were recalled for the purpose of showing the Mormons their present "duty."

Whatever may be said as to the ignorance of the Salt Lake City leaders in regard to those murmurings, it is certain that a section of the Mormons were determined to vent their smouldering wrath on the immigrants. George A. Smith, First Councillor to Brigham Young, went ahead of the "train," advising the country people to refuse to sell or give them anything. Brigham may not have known about the deeper plot at this juncture, but it is very singular that he should not have been aware of the call soon to be made for the militia to mobilise. The men who issued that call were Bishops W. D. Dame, John D. Lee (the former being colonel of the force, and the latter major), and two captains, Haight and Higby. Two members of the force thus called up for the work on hand afterwards stated that they kept awake all night praying and asking for forgiveness if they were about to do wrong.

But during this interval the Ute Indians, who were acting with the Mormons, unable to restrain their savage nature, began the attack which had been designed.

In the early morning they crept close to the camp of the immigrants, which had been pitched in a hollow, and, taking careful aim as the party were at breakfast, fired, killing and wounding about a dozen. Those shots began the brutal murders.

Though taken by surprise, the immigrants hastily prepared to sell their lives dearly. They quickly corraled their horses, drew their waggons together, sinking the wheels to the axles in the ground, and then they returned the fire of the Indians. If the attackers expected an easy victory, they were disappointed, for the immigrants knew how to fight, and they wasted little powder. In that little camp, huddled together in what was at best an exposed position, they kept the enemy at bay for nearly a week. Had they known the district better, they would have suspected that the Ute Indians in that part of the country were not so daring or so numerous as to attempt the massacre of a large " train " by themselves ; but the immigrants did not dream that white men were capable of this atrocity.

Mrs. Hamlin, whose husband had a ranch near by, has placed it on record that parties of Mormons were, during this time, constantly coming and going to and from the ranch, and were actually amusing themselves at games, though the shots were plainly heard.

At length the immigrants, who were being worn out by constant watching and fighting, were on the border of despair, when the firing ceased. Help, they now thought, was surely at hand. As they looked through their loopholes they saw a waggon filled with white men enter the valley. The new comers raised a white flag, and the Missouri and Arkansas men and women raised a shout of joy as their " deliverers " approached. They held up a little girl dressed in white as a reply to the flag, and their leading men stepped out into the open. The men in the approaching waggon were Bishop Lee and his party. A short council was held, and on Lee's advice the immigrants agreed to surrender and give up their arms, the Mormons to take them under their care until the " war " was ended. Relying on the word of the Mormon Bishop and his party, the immigrants hurriedly packed their goods and prepared to return with them.

In the company were 60 men, 40 women, and 48 young people; two waggons containing the wounded led the procession, then came the women and children, the fighting men bringing up the rear. On either side of the men marched Mormons, and mounted Mormons outflanked the whole cavalcade.

They reached a part of the trail where the road dipped. The waggons passed over. The women and children were crossing, when a Mormon, standing on a mound above, waved his hand as a signal. As he did so a Mormon captain shouted, " Halt ! Fire ! "

At once the Mormons turned on the helpless immigrants and fired point-blank. The man who gave this order to fire was Haight.

The women and children turned and ran, screaming, back to the men who had fallen; and as the frantic creatures came towards them the Mormons and a band of Ute Indians, who had been in ambush, rushed upon them with guns, tomahawks, and knives. It was commonly stated that not a few of the " Indians " were Mormons disguised to appear as Redskins. The scene that ensued for the next half-hour beggars description. Women and children were felled, brained, or shot indiscriminately.

A son of Bishop Lee, who was one of the murderers, came face to face with a terrified girl, who threw herself at his feet and pleaded for life. As the son hesitated, Bishop Lee came up and shot her dead. Two other girls escaped, and raced down the side of the dip and hid in a clump of bushes. They were seen by an Indian boy, named Albert, who, under threats, was forced to point them out to Lee and another Mormon, named Stewart. The girls were dragged from their refuge.

Trembling with panic, they passionately begged for mercy, promising to be the Mormons' slaves if their lives were spared. One of the poor, demented creatures clung to Lee's knees in agony as she pleaded for her life. Lee jerked her from him, and as she fell he seized her and cut her throat. The other girl fled in terror, but she had not gone far before she was overtaken and her skull crushed by a blow.

That those two murders took place as described is proved by the testimony which later became available. Hamlin, the ranch-owner, was in Salt Lake City at the time; but when he returned to his home, ten days later, the Indian lad who had seen the crimes told him, giving information as to the girls' hiding-place, and pointing the bodies out to him. The parties who had buried the others had missed those poor victims; and Hamlin, in his statement, remarks that the wild beasts and birds of the hills had not touched them, and that neither body showed sign of decay, the air at that altitude being so pure as to act as a preservative.

Of the whole band of immigrants who entered Utah so full of hope and vigour, only one man escaped, and he must have lost his way and died in the mountains, for he was never seen or heard of afterwards. Nothing was lacking to complete that day's horror and crime. It was one of the awful occasions in which men become more savage than animals and more frightful than devils.

Seventeen children were saved alive. They were taken to Hamlin's house, and afterwards adopted by Mormons; but a few years later they were returned to their relatives in various parts of the United States. Not until eighteen months after the massacre were the last traces of the crime removed by order of the authorities.

And now comes the sordid sequel to the affair. The property of the murdered immigrants was divided, the Utes being presented with the ammunition and the flour. In Cedar City an auction of most of the other effects was held, and was named by those who attended it " An auction of property taken at the seige of Sebastopol," and there is legal proof that the very clothing taken from the dead bodies as they lay on the ground was part of the lots thus sold. Much of the stock was traded in other ways.

Mormons affect to regard these facts with scandalised horror that their Church should be charged with such a crime; but there is no denying the facts. William H. Hooper, of Salt Lake City, exchanged a large quantity of boots and shoes for forty head of cattle, and Bishop Windsor, of Arizona, for years prided himself in the ownership of cattle descended from the immigrants' stock; yet many years later this merchant, Hooper, actually swore before Congress that the Mormons had nothing to do with the massacre, and that the Indians were to blame.

John D. Lee, the most prominent villain in the affair, remained a Bishop in the Mormon Church for thirteen years after the murders. So did " Colonel " Dame, who commanded the militia. So did " Captain " Haight. Not the slightest attempt at inquiry was made into the crime until outside opinion and public agitation compelled it. Is it logical to suppose—is it possible—that Brigham Young and his " staff " did not know of this mountain massacre all those years? Is it possible that such a frightful crime, even if committed by the Indians, could have been committed without the Mormon leaders knowing of it? As administrators of Indian affairs, was it not their duty to investigate at once? Such a crime could not be hid from them, even in that far west region. No; all the evidence, all the facts of that dark day point to a severe condemnation of the Mormon authorities, even if they had been blameless of participation in the crime.

The circumstances in which the world was first informed of the massacre are suspicious in themselves.

An account of the affair, brief and with many inaccuracies, appeared in the columns of a Californian newspaper. It was communicated to Salt Lake City, where the Mormon organ boldly labelled the whole story a fabrication. But the story was repeated, and the truth insisted upon. It was reported that men who had left the Church, and had a knowledge of the crime, were able to add details. Then the Mormon newspaper admitted that a massacre had taken place.

Once that had been established, something was gained; but the Mormons insisted that the Indians were responsible for the outrage. Two years later—in 1859—Judge Cradlebaugh began an investigation; but witnesses were hard to find. Many came to him by night in secret to give evidence, afraid lest their fellows should see them. The following year General W. H. Carleton began another and more thorough investigation. The last traces of the victims were buried; and the following Government report of the massacre, taken from Senate Document, Volume Xl., No. 42, page 15, disposes of the Mormon protests of innocence:

> Fort Bridger, July 6th, 1859.
>
> At Mountain Meadows, Utah, I found human skulls, bones, and hair scattered around, and scraps of clothing of men, women, and children. I saw one girl's dress, apparently that of a child of ten or twelve years of age. These were the remains of a party . . . about one hundred and fifty, who were moving their effects from Arkansas to California. These immigrants were here met by the Mormons (assisted by such wretched Indians of the neighbourhood as they could force and persuade to join them) and massacred, with the exception of such infant children that the Mormons thought too young to remember or tell of the affair. The Mormons had their faces painted so as to disguise themselves as Indians.
>
> The Mormons were led on by John D. Lee, then a high dignitary in the self-styled Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Isaac Haight, now a dignitary in the same Church.
>
> This affair began as a surprise. The immigrants were

> encamped near a spring from which there is a ravine. Along this ravine the Mormons and the Indians crept to the spring during the night. When the immigrants rose in the morning, they were fired upon, and some twelve or fifteen of them killed. The immigrants seized their arms, and defended themselves so bravely, that, after four days, the Mormons and Indians had not succeeded in exterminating them. This horrid affair was finished by an act of treachery. John D. Lee, having removed the paint from his face, came to the immigrants and told them that if they would surrender themselves and give their property to the Indians, that the Mormons would conduct them safely back to Cedar City. The immigrants then surrendered, with their wives and their children. They were taken about a mile and a half from the spring, where they, their wives, and their children (with the exception of some infants) were ruthlessly killed.
>
> The infants were taken to Cedar City, where they were either sold or given away to such of the Mormons as desired them. It is a notorious fact that these infants never have been with the Indians. The property of the immigrants was taken to Cedar City, where it was put up at public auction.
>
> This affair occurred in the month of September, 1857.
>
> I am, sir, very respectfully,
> Your obedient servant,
>
> (Signed) R. P. Campbell,
> Captain Second Dragoons,
> Commanding Santa Clara Expedition.

But, in spite of this official report, it was not until twelve years later that the Mormons admitted the guilt of Lee. They then expelled him from the Church—nominally, and only nominally, for he continued to be the Church agent among the Indians. For this work he was peculiarly fitted. He could speak several Indian languages and dialects; he was a woodsman by nature, knowing all there was to be known of wild life and hunter's craft in the mountains.

" Cut off " from the Church, he retreated into Pahreah Cañon, on the Colorado, and there, far from human fellowship, he lived an exile's life. For some years he dropped, or seemed to drop, entirely out of the horizon of the people of Utah. Rumours were set about at various times that he had been killed, that he had been adopted by an Indian tribe, and was living as one of themselves, or that he had met death in various ways; but all the time Lee was considerably alive. Mr. J. H. Beadle, for some time Clerk to the Supreme Court of Utah, relates in his book *Polygamy* how, when on a journey on horseback through Arizona with Navajo Indians in July, 1872, he met Lee at the latter's rude bough cabin, in which one of Lee's wives also lived with her son and daughter. He stayed with Lee for three days, sharing his straw bed at night and his companionship by day, and had some conversation on the subject of the massacre. During those conversations Lee alleged that the immigrants had been guilty of bad conduct and treatment towards the inhabitants of Utah in their march; had openly sworn that they had helped to kill Joseph Smith; and had poisoned a spring at Corn Creek, and also the flesh of an ox that had died there, and gave it to the Indians, so that several of them died. Lee also stated on this occasion that an express messenger had been sent to Brigham Young after the attack on the immigrants had begun, asking for directions, and the Mormon President had sent back word to "call off the Indians, and for the Mormons not to molest them." But the massacre had taken place before the messenger returned.

Now Lee's story to his visitor is very different to his own confession, written on the eve of his execution. His accusations against the immigrants concerning their "bad conduct" were proved to have no basis when it was discovered that a party of individuals known as the "Missouri Wildcats" had given cause for the complaints. The charge of misconduct was never upheld against the murdered people. Lee's confession sheds a different light on the part played by his leaders in the Church, and it seems to be true that when the law's hand was closing over him his leaders deserted him, as he complained bitterly before he was sentenced.

In 1874 his outlaw career came to an end. The authorities laid a trap for him, and he was captured while visiting his four wives at Panguitch, on the Sevier River, a writ for his arrest having been issued by the Provo court.

Lee's subsequent trial, which aroused great interest throughout the country, was opened at the town of Beaver in the following year; and it is stated to have been one of the most irregular trials ever held. The difficulty of getting witnesses was very great. Persons who could have given valuable evidence would not come forward, and many left the district, fearing they would be compelled, and thus be brought into conflict with the Mormons. All the Mormon jurors called swore that they had perfectly blank minds on the case; and one of those gentlemen stated that, though he had seen the monument in Mountain Meadows (which had been erected to mark the place of the crime), he did not know what it had been erected for, and he had never heard of a massacre!

At length a jury was obtained, and the case opened The main witness was Philip Klingensmith, a Dutchman, who had emigrated to Utah with Mormon converts. Klingensmith had sworn a complete confession of the murders before a Nevada Judge, and this had been one of the reasons that the civil authorities took action. The defence of the accused was that the immigrants had poisoned a spring near Corn Creek, and had given the Indians poisoned food, for which treachery the Indians slew them. But though those charges were not upheld by the evidence, the jury—who were all "open-minded"—were unable to come to a conclusion, and disagreed! There were three non-Mormons on that jury.

The second trial, before another jury, took place the next year, and this time Lee was convicted. Witnesses swore that he had killed several of the immigrants, and as they were giving their testimony Lee broke down. When taken to his cell he paced the floor for a long time, cursing the Mormon leaders, who, he said, had deserted him. He had seen that he was to be left to fight his battle alone, without help from the Church, and that meant death. The Church never came to his aid, and, though an appeal against his conviction was lodged, the judgment was upheld, and Lee was sentenced to death on March 23rd, 1877.

Before his execution he wrote two confessions, one longer than the other, to be published after his death, the proceeds of the sale to go towards paying his lawyer's fees. In the shorter confession, published at once, he states :

> Those with me at the time (of the massacre) were acting under orders from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The horrid deeds then committed were done as a duty which we believed we owed to God and our Church. We were all sworn to secrecy before and after the massacre. The penalty for giving information concerning it was death. . . .
>
> In the month of September, 1857, the company of emigrants known as the "Arkansas Company" arrived at Parowan, Iron County, Utah, on their way to California. At Parowan young Aden, one of the company, saw and recognised one William Laney, a Mormon resident of Parowan. Aden and his father had rescued Laney from an anti-Mormon mob in Tennessee several years before, and saved his life. He (Laney), at the time he was attacked by the mob, was a Mormon missionary in Tennessee. Laney was glad to see his friend and benefactor, and invited him to his house, and gave him some garden sauce to take back to the camp with him.
>
> The same evening it was reported to Bishop (Colonel) Dame that Laney had given potatoes and onions to the man Aden, one of the emigrants. (As already mentioned the Mormons had been ordered by their leaders to refuse the emigrants any supplies.)
>
> When the report was made to Bishop Dame he raised his hand and crooked his little finger in a significant manner to one Barney Carter, his brother-in-law, and one of the

"Angels of Death." Carter, without another word, walked out, went to Laney's house with a long picket in his hand, called Laney out, and struck him a heavy blow on the head, fracturing his skull, and left him on the grass for dead. C. Y. Webb and Isaac Newman, president of the High Council, both told me that they saw Dame's manœuvres. . . .

Some two weeks after the deed was done Isaac C. Haight sent me to report to Governor Young in person. I asked him why he did not send a written report. He replied that I could tell him more satisfactorily than he could write, and if I would stand up and shoulder as much of the responsibility as I could conveniently, that it would be a feather in my cap some day, and that I would get a celestial salvation, but the man that shrunk from it now would go to hell.

I went and did as I was commanded. Brigham asked me if Isaac C. Haight had written a letter to him. I replied, "Not by me; but he wished me to report in person." "All right," said Brigham. "Were you an eye-witness?" "To most of it," was my reply. Then I proceeded and gave him a full history of all. I told him of the killing of the women and children, and the betraying of the company. That, I told him, I was opposed to; but I did not say to him to what extent I was opposed to it, only that I was opposed to shedding innocent blood. "Why," said he, "you differ from Isaac (Haight), for he said there was not a drop of innocent blood in the whole company."

When I was through he said it was awful; that he cared nothing about the men, but the women and children was what troubled him. I said, "President Young, you should either release men from their obligation, or sustain them when they do what they have entered into the most sacred obligations to do."

He replied: "I will think over the matter and make it a subject of prayer, and you may come back in the morning and see me."

I did so. He said: "John, I feel first-rate. I asked the Lord, if it was all right for the deed to be done, to take away the vision of the deed from my mind, and the Lord did so, and I feel first-rate. It is all right. The only fear I have is of traitors."

He told me never to lisp it to any mortal being, not even to Brother Heber. President Young has always treated me with the friendship of a father since, and has sealed several women to me since, and has made my house his

> home when in that part of the Territory—until danger threatened him.

Such is the confession of Bishop John D. Lee, who shortly afterwards paid the full penalty for his share in the crime. Lee, by the law of the Territory, had liberty to choose the manner of his death. He asked to be shot.

The execution ground was chosen by the United States Marshal, William Nelson, and he placed it in Mountain Meadows, the scene of the massacre. A Methodist minister attended Lee to the last, for the Mormon Church had thrown him over, and refused him last consolations. To the minister who attended him Lee confessed that he had killed five of the immigrants.

He was cheerful throughout the whole scene, and watched the preparations calmly. He was seated on his own coffin, and a photograph was taken. He asked that copies of the photograph might be sent to his three wives, Sarah, Emma, and Rachel, who had remained loyal to him; and, after making the small company a brief address, he signified himself ready for execution.

Five soldiers took their stand in front of him. His eyes were bandaged, and the United States Marshal gave the order:

"Ready! Fire!"

The five balls passed through Lee's breast close to the heart, and he fell back on his coffin, dead.

This was the felon's end of John Doyle Lee on March 23rd, 1877. He was born in 1812 of Irish parents who had emigrated, and had been reared as a Catholic, but turned Mormon in 1836. Few mourned his death.

With his execution was closed a dark chapter which will for ever stain the name of Mormonism.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CHURCH UNDER BRIGHAM YOUNG

We shall now resume the main history of the Church—which we have anticipated somewhat in order to give a connected account of the Mountain Meadows crime—and trace the events which followed the Mormon "war" until the end of Brigham Young's "reign."

The attempts of the United States Government to administer Utah affairs, half-hearted and pusillanimous though they were, backing the appointment of Governor Cumming as successor to Brigham Young in a legislative capacity, gave an impulse to the non-Mormon officials, and in 1858 Judge Sinclair began to probe the questions of polygamy and the alleged Mormon treason. But the investigation was of little use, and the cases which came before the courts were of minor importance. Mysterious murders were still committed—some of them to be found mentioned in the files of the *Deseret News*, the Mormon newspaper, which in most instances, laboured to rebut the allegations against the Saints. It would be of little value to detail the crimes charged against the Mormons. Bill Hickman, the chief Danite, was concerned in many of the disturbances. In one case, the murder of two men named Arnold and Drown, Hickman declared the latter was killed by order of his superiors. Arnold, all parties agree, was killed accidentally during the attack on Drown in a house in Salt Lake City. The truth as to Drown's death has never been discovered.

The list of violent deaths during 1858–59 is a formidable one. A deaf-and-dumb boy, Andrew Bernard, was murdered by a member of the Danite band named Ephe Hanks. A man named Forbes, who had left the Mormon Church and refused to return to the fold, was killed by assassins. Franklin McNeil, who was prosecuting a case against Brigham Young in the courts, was also killed. It was stated by McNeil's landlord that McNeil was killed in a brawl, but Bill Hickman said he was killed "according to orders."

Between the young Mormons and the soldiers at Floyd Camp many affrays ending in death occurred. Authorities have estimated that during the summer of 1859 one murder occurred every week in the vicinity of Salt Lake City. It is not suggested here that all were Mormon crimes, but the facts indicate the wild and lawless state of existence in the district to which many desperadoes had come; and it is charged that the Mormon priesthood were responsible for a goodly share of the crimes under the doctrine of "blood-atonement." For three years—1856 to 1859—there seems to have been a reign of blood and terror in Utah, and it is estimated that during those years over 500 persons, including those murdered at Mountain Meadows and the deaths resulting from the "handcart" adventure, were sacrified in one way or another. Bill Hickman, who was expelled from the Church, is reported to have confessed to a Mormon preacher who attended him in his fatal illness that he had had a share in forty murders.

Commercially the Mormons owed much to the presence of the army under General Johnston, and it was at this time that not a few Salt Lake merchants laid the foundations of their future prosperity. That prosperity was shared by non-Mormons who came to the city; and in 1861, when the troops left, the stores were sold at low prices to the merchants, who made enormous profits. Iron, for instance, which had hitherto fetched a dollar per pound, became plentiful, but not before Brigham and several tradesmen had made good profits from their immense stores.

Governor Cumming did not prove a strong ruler. He had compromised himself to a considerable extent in his dealings with the Saints, and owing to his lack of firmness in dealing with charges made against them, and for other reasons, the non-Mormon element became opposed to him. He quarrelled with the other officials, and his position became impossible. Judge Cradlebaugh, to quote one instance, after making an inquiry into the crimes which had occurred in the south part of the Territory, made application to Cumming for a military guard to help him enforce the law and serve writs on various persons; but the Governor refused, or declined, to provide the force, and does not even seem to have made any effort to discover the necessity or otherwise for such a provision. The result was that Judge Cradlebaugh left the Territory. It is also said that Cumming declined to investigate the Mountain Meadows massacre, leaving what was obviously his duty to others. In 1861 he left Utah, and no anti-Mormon regretted his departure.

The Governor appointed in Cumming's place was John W. Dawson, of Indiana, and his term of office was short-lived. He was foolish enough to be concerned in a scandal with a Mormon woman—non-Mormons say the affair was a trap on the part of the Saints to rid themselves of the new Governor—and he fled, fearing the wrath and ridicule of the people. But he did not escape. He was overtaken in Weber Cañon by three Mormons, who inflicted terrible injuries upon him. The three were arrested, and when in custody were shot dead by the police as they were attempting to escape.

Salt Lake City was linked with the outside world in 1861 by the overland telegraph, and there is little doubt that the prosperity of the Territory would have been aided considerably by this event had it not been for the outbreak of the Civil War, which severed the North States from the South, and plunged the whole continent into an unspeakable agony. With great joy do the

Mormons point out that their loyalty is proved by the first message flashed over the new telegraph line. This message was from Brigham Young to Washington officials, and read: " Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the constitution and laws of our once happy country." Non-Mormons who lived in Salt Lake City at this time, however, state that, while this message was sent, the Mormon sermons preached in the tabernacle were not filled with the same loyal sentiments, and mainly consisted of declarations that the prophecy of the Church's founder, Joseph Smith, was about to be entirely fulfilled. This prophecy, given on December 25th, 1832, is a very remarkable one, and is printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, section 87:

> *Revelation and Prophecy given through Joseph, the Seer, on War.*
>
> Verily, thus saith the Lord, concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls.
>
> The days will come that war will be poured out upon all nations, beginning at that place;
>
> For behold, the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States, and the Southern States will call on other nations, even the nation of Great Britain, as it is called, and they shall also call upon other nations, in order to defend themselves against other nations; and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations.
>
> And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshalled and disciplined for war;
>
> And it shall come to pass also, that the remnants who are left of the land will marshal themselves and shall become exceeding angry, and shall vex the Gentiles with a sore vexation;
>
> And thus, with the sword, and by bloodshed, the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn; and with famine and plague, and earthquakes, and the thunder of heaven, and the fierce and vivid lightning also, shall the inhabitants of the earth be made to feel the wrath, and indignation and chastening hand of an Almighty God, until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations;

> That the cry of the saints, and of the blood of the saints, shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies.
>
> Wherefore, stand ye in holy places, and be not moved, until the day of the Lord come; for behold it cometh quickly, saith the Lord. Amen.

A further prediction of this catastrophe was made by Smith on April 2nd, 1843, at Nauvoo, when he said:

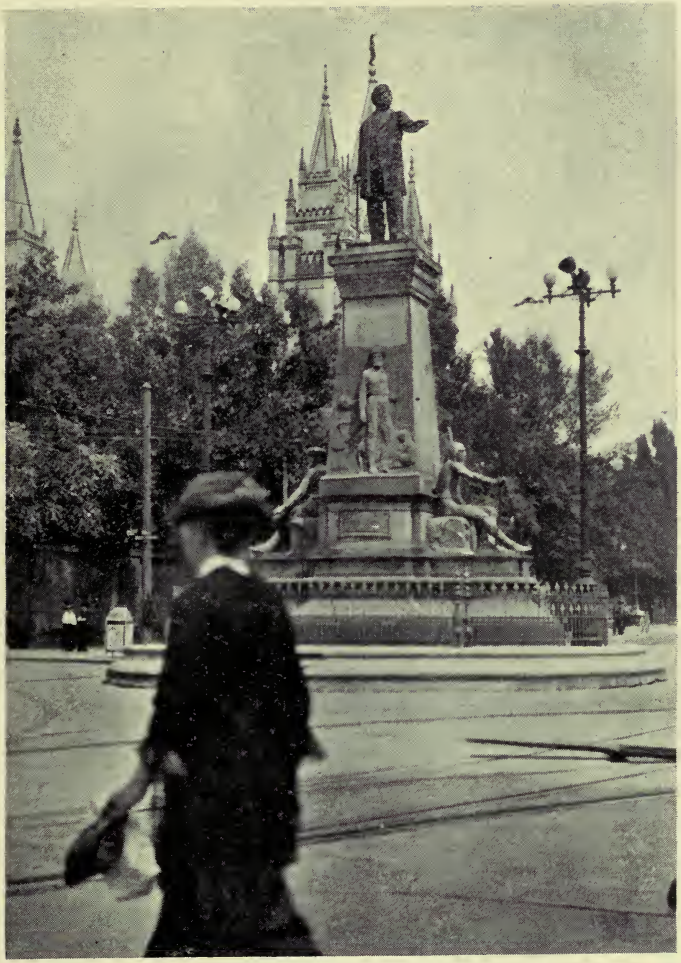
> I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God, that the commencement of the difficulties which will cause much bloodshed previous to the coming of the Son of Man will be in South Carolina.
>
> It may probably arise through the slave question. This a voice declared to me, while I was praying earnestly on the subject, December 25th, 1832.
>
> I was once praying very earnestly to know the time of the coming of the Son of Man, when I heard a voice repeat the following:
>
> "Joseph, my son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years old, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man; therefore let this suffice, and trouble me no more on this matter."

The reader does not require to be reminded that Smith did not live to the age of eighty-five years; and it is eloquent of Mormon faith and courage that they still allow those "revelations" to remain in their book of laws and instruction.

On those prophecies, then, the Mormons during the Civil War placed great reliance. Brigham Young and Heber Kimball are both credited with the statement that the war was the beginning of the end of Gentile domination, and that "the war would go on until nearly all the men both North and South would be killed, and the rest would become servants to the Saints." Practically no reference to those speeches, as might be expected, are to be found in Mormon literature, for the sudden ending of the war was unexpected, and rather minimised Brigham Young's declaration, made in a sermon the Sunday after Lee's capture, that the war would last four years longer; but Brigham afterwards explained that what he meant was that there would be four years' "wrangling."

Meantime the Saints made another attempt, this time in 1862, to get Utah included as a State; but again they were unsuccessful. George Q. Cannon, one of the strongest men of the Church, and William H. Cooper were the candidates for senatorship; but though they preached zealously that the people of Utah "could redress their grievances better in the Union than out out of it," Utah remained merely a Territory. Abraham Lincoln, who was then President of the United States, in July of the same year startled the Mormons by his approval of, and signature to, the first Anti-polygamy Bill, at the same time annulling certain Acts of the Utah Legislature. But Lincoln was too much occupied with the circumstances in other parts of the country, which called for all his extraordinary ability and energy, to pursue the objects of this Act, and stamp out polygamy; and the Washington Government possibly expected too much from the passage of the measure into law. At any rate, the Act excited little attention in Utah, and it is doubtful if the majority of the Mormons were aware of its provisions. It is true that the new Governor of Utah, Stephen S. Harding, who came from Indiana, in succession to Dawson, tried to put it in force. He pointed out the new law to the Utah Legislature, and urged some action, even going the length of charging Brigham Young with polygamy; but when the case came into court the jury refused to convict, owing, it is coolly stated by a Mormon writer, to "lack of evidence."

There is little doubt that President Lincoln would have fought and would have overcome polygamy in Utah had not his life been ended so tragically by assassination. His death threw the United States into political confusion, from which it recovered slowly and painfully,



Brigham Young's Statue and Pioneer Monument, Main Street, Salt Lake City.

In the rear can be seen the pinnacles of the Temple, in Temple Block, and on the highest pinnacle the gilded figure of the angel Moroni.

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and the problem he might have solved quickly was left to work out its own solution through a dreary era of discord and suffering.

As it was, the Territory of Utah became very much a law unto itself, and, though the Federal Government was represented by officials, the chief figure moving behind the scenes was that of Brigham Young. He it was who waged an unceasing war against apostates and others hostile to his doctrines. His robust and aggressive leadership became more and more autocratic and dictatorial, and excited the suspicion of many citizens, while it was not approved by a certain percentage of the Saints, who believed that Young was departing from the creed of the early Church. Judging from the sermons which Young preached in the tabernacle, it would appear that he was intent on driving his enemies from Utah by veiled, and in some cases open, threats. The truth apparently was that he feared that the influx of non-Mormons into Salt Lake City would undermine the Church's influence and upset his power, and he only accepted the new conditions at a later date, when he saw that he was not fighting merely a few hundred immigrants and trappers, but was opposing the full pressure of civilisation, which was marching westward in an ever-increasing volume.

This was a period of quick transformations, when the whole life of Utah was in flux, and many events occurred which would have been impossible had a resolute governing force been in existence, backed by a firm Federal Government. Young, who was not slow to see the business possibilities of the situation, proved his acumen on behalf of the Church over and over again. On one occasion, when a greater number of miners than usual from the surrounding districts came to Salt Lake to spend the winter, he organised Mormon trade, and raised the price of flour from three dollars to six per hundred in gold. There were many protests at this move; but the miners were powerless to protect themselves, and had to pay the high price until the spring arrived.

One of the steadying influences in the Territory was that of Colonel P. E. Connor, who, in October, 1862, entered Utah with 1,500 troops, and established Camp Douglas, not far from Salt Lake City, with the double object of founding a military government and suppressing disturbances. For over three years the Colonel assisted non-Mormons and anti-Mormons, and for his pains was heartily disliked by the Saints. More than once were hostilities on the verge of breaking out, but they were averted just in time. Once Brigham, on the representations of a grand jury, declared the camp to be a " nuisance," and ordered its " removal." The Mayor of the City, one Smoot, replied that to do this would require 5,000 men; whereupon Brigham withdrew the order. On another occasion Young was told that the Colonel was about to send a force to arrest him, and a squad of Mormons was called out to mount guard over their prophet's house, only to find that no arrest was contemplated.

But in spite of Brigham's autocratic rule, or perhaps because of it, there were many apostates; and of the several dissenting sects, none has a more tragic story than the Morrisite band, whose brief notoriety flickered towards its zenith and perished in 1862. Though special mention is made elsewhere of those dissenting sects, it is apposite that the history of the Morrisites should be given here and now.

Joseph Morris was a native of Manchester, England, who left Lancashire for Utah, expecting, as so many others had expected, and so many still expect, to find there a new heaven and a new earth. He had been a keen and enthusiastic follower of Joseph Smith, and his fanaticism for Smith's religion was his own undoing. Repelled by the leadership of Brigham Young, as others had been repelled, Morris believed that the truth, as revealed by Smith, was now being corrupted. He set out to create a reformation. He adopted the rôle of "prophet," and announced his intention at the town of South Weber, where he lived, about thirty miles north of Salt Lake City; and then he followed the announcement by the declaration that he had received a vision from heaven in which John the Baptist appeared, among others, and endowed him with the holy priesthood as the real successor of Smith.

In a short time Morris had a considerable following, to whom he announced fresh "revelations" which helped to establish his claims; he even wrote authoritatively to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, but their replies were not encouraging for Morris. At length, as the faction was increasing in numbers, and if allowed to grow would soon have become a real danger, Brigham decided to crush his rival, and sent John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff (both of whom became in turn head of the Church in later years) to inquire into the situation. The result of their probe was that poor Morris and all his followers were "cut off." But this did not daunt the new "prophet"; he had many "revelations"—so many, indeed, that it was stated that he required the services of three English and three Danish secretaries to take the records of his utterances.

The climax of the "revelations" was reached in the spring of 1862, when the Morrisites, numbering about 500 or 600, assembled in the vicinity of the Weber, in a camp named Kington Fort, to await the second coming of the Saviour. One cannot become acquainted with the proceedings of the Morrisites without feeling an intense pity for the poor deluded souls. So sure were they that Christ would come almost immediately that they disdained to make any provision for the future, and, sharing everything in common, gave up practically all their time to religious services.

This, however, could not continue indefinitely. The ardour of some of the least fanatical began to cool, and with their loss of "faith" the break-up of the sect began. Some of them apostatised, and, as they withdrew, demanded the return of their property, which had been consecrated with the property of their fellows. Morris was perfectly willing to let those apostates have their property or its equivalent, but the question that baffled everyone was exactly how much they could now claim with justice to all, some allowance being necessary for the maintenance given by the property of all the others in the general fund. It was a sordid business, and it seems that the Mormons in Salt Lake were by no means displeased at the prospect of the overthrow of Brigham's rival. Applications for writs against the Morrisites were made in the Mormon Courts. The writs were issued; but when they were served the Morrisites became hostile, and refused to comply with the legal demands. Then the apostates seized the movable property of their quondam brothers, and when a waggon-load of wheat was sent to the mills they took the team and waggon *and* the wheat. As usual, there were counter-charges to the effect that the Morrisites had taken the cattle belonging to the others; but the Morrisites say they took nothing belonging to anyone until they found that they themselves were being robbed.

Matters came to a head when the Morrisites were ordered out to drill for the review of the Nauvoo Legion. They refused, probably for conscientious reasons, and several were arrested and fined. They refused to pay the fines, and would not allow the courts to take their property in distraint. For this resistance writs for the arrest of the leading Morrisites were issued, but the Sheriff of Salt Lake was unable to serve them; and then, as a last resort, the Nauvoo Legion was ordered out against this handful of "rebels." They arrived before the Morrisite camp early on the morning of June 13th, 1862—an armed force of several hundred, with five pieces of artillery, under the command of Sheriff Robert T. Burton.

This formidable force captured the cattle of the

Morrisites, and killed several of the animals for food; and then they sent in a demand for the surrender of the camp. In reality the "camp" was but houses built of willows woven together, a number of covered waggons, and the "fortifications" could have been destroyed in a few minutes with a few rounds of rifle-fire. Nevertheless the investing force chose to regard it as a stronghold, and the following document was sent in by the hand of one of the cowherds:

> Headquarters, Marshal's Posse,
> Weber River,
> June 13, 1862.
>
> *To Joseph Morris, John Banks, Richard Cook, John Parsons, and Peter Klemgard:*
>
> Whereas, you have hitherto disregarded and defied the judicial officers and laws of the Territory of Utah; and whereas, certain writs have been issued for you from the Third Judicial District Court of said Territory, and a sufficient force furnished by the Executive of the same to enforce the laws, this is therefore to notify you to peaceably and quietly surrender yourselves and the prisoners in your custody forthwith.
>
> An answer is required in thirty minutes after the receipt of this document; if not, forcible measures will be taken for your arrest.
>
> Should you disregard this proposition and place your lives in jeopardy, you are hereby required to remove your women and children; and all persons peaceably disposed are hereby notified to forthwith leave your encampment, and are informed that they can find protection with this posse.
>
> (*Signed*) H. W. LAWRENCE, Territorial Marshal, per R. T. Burton and Theodore McKean, Deputies.

When Morris received this communication, he decided to do what Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders had done under similar circumstances in early days. He "inquired of the Lord," telling his flock that he would give them the Almighty's directions how to deal with the situation. One of the Morrisites gives the following statement of what occurred afterwards:

" Morris was seen to come from his dwelling with a paper in his hand. This paper proved to be a written revelation. His council were awaiting him. The revelation was read to the council. It purported to be from God, Who was represented as being pleased with His faithful people there, and as having brought the posse against them to show His own power in the complete destruction of their enemies.

" It was also promised that now the triumph of His people should come; their enemies should be smitten before them, but not one of His faithful people should be destroyed, not a hair of their heads should be harmed.

" The Council at once stepped out into the Bowery, close to which lived all the leading men, and, to save time, singing was omitted, and the meeting was opened briefly by prayer. Mr. John Parsons, in his clear sonorous voice, then read the revelation. Mr. R. Cook arose to consult with the people as to which should be obeyed—the proclamation demanding the surrender of the prisoners held in custody of Peter Klemgard and four of the leading men of the Church, or the revelation forbidding the surrender of these men.

" Before the people had a chance to speak, or vote, or do anything at all in the matter, the booming sound of a cannon was heard, and screams from the third seat from the stand in the Bowery, and instantly two women were seen dead in the congregation, and the lower jaw, hanging only by a small strip of skin, was shot off a young girl of from twelve to fifteen years of age. It was the fearful and heartrending screams of this girl that stopped the meeting. The people rose in utter confusion. Mr. Cook, still on his feet, suggested to all to go home at once, and each man to take care of his own family as best he could."

The rest of the pitiful story is as might have been expected. The " battle " raged for three days, during which the Morrisites fought a hopeless combat. Their weapons were much inferior to the artillery of their enemy, who had brought up cannon which raked the "fort" with ball. During the unequal struggle Morris, when appealed to for guidance, invariably replied that "if the Lord will, we shall be delivered and our enemies destroyed"; but at the close of the third day someone in the camp raised the white flag, whereupon the leader rebuked his followers, and excused himself by the remark, "Your faith has gone. The Lord has forsaken us."

What happened after the victors marched into the camp is best told in the sworn testimony of Alexander Dow, a prominent Morrisite, who made this statement and signed it on oath before Associate Justice C. B. Waite:

> In the spring of 1861 I joined the Morrisites, and was present when Joseph Morris was killed. The Morrisites had surrendered, a white flag was flying, and the arms were all grounded and guarded by a large number of the posse.
>
> Robert T. Burton and Judson L. Stoddard rode in among the Morrisites. Burton was much excited, and said, "Where is the man? I don't know him." Stoddard replied, "That's him," pointing to Morris. Burton rode his horse upon Morris, and commanded him to give himself up in the name of the Lord. Morris replied, "No, never, never." Morris said he wanted to speak to the people. Burton said, "Be d——d quick about it."
>
> Morris said, "Brethren, I have taught you true principles——" He had scarcely got the words out of his mouth when Burton fired his revolver. The ball passed in his neck or shoulder. Burton exclaimed, "There's your prophet." He fired again, saying, "What do you think of your prophet now?"
>
> Burton then turned suddenly and shot Banks, who was standing five or six paces distant. Banks fell. Mrs. Bowman, wife of James Bowman, came running up, crying, "Oh, you bloodthirsty wretch!"
>
> Burton said, "No one shall tell me that and live," and shot her dead. A Danish woman then came running up to Morris, crying, and Burton shot her dead also.
>
> Burton could have easily taken Morris and Banks prisoners if he had tried. I was standing but a few feet from Burton all the time.

All the dead were placed in a cart and taken to the city, where they were the objects of great interest to the curious. The remains of the murdered "prophet," with those of Banks, lay in the City Hall for seven days, and were visited by crowds eager to see the late "usurper."

In due time ninety-three of the Morrisites were brought before the courts, and Judge Kinney bound them over to appear before him later under bonds of 1,500 dollars each; but only five of the accused agreed to sign the bond, declaring that they would rather lie in gaol. The Judge thereupon ruled that the five, who owned considerable property, should be surety for the others; but when the time of their appearance came twenty had left the Territory and at least one was dead. Most of the others appeared, and Judge Kinney, who is stated to have been afraid of offending the main body of Mormons, fined the whole ninety-three 100 dollars each. Several of the leaders were tried, and sentenced to imprisonment, the terms varying from five to fifteen years.

Those sentences were unnecessarily harsh, and in some cases cruel, for it was well known at that time that a long term of imprisonment was practically a death sentence. Petitions of protest were organised. Those petitions caused the Mormons—that is, the followers of Brigham Young, now being known as the Brighamites—to raise a counter-movement. Governor Harding, it is believed with good reason, was of opinion that the sentences were too severe; but he received several hints from Mormons that disturbances might result from any interference with the sentences. But Governor Harding determined to do his duty. He kept the petition at his home, and received signatures from all who came to him for that purpose. One night, long after he had retired, he was wakened by a violent knocking at his door, and was informed by his servants that a rough-looking man insisted on seeing him. The visitor was admitted after precautions had been taken, and boldly announced that his reason for calling was so that he could sign the petition for the release of the Morrisites, excusing his late call on the ground that he had ridden a long distance and had been detained. Governor Harding handed the petition to his visitor, who immediately scrawled across the page, in capital letters, the much-feared name "BILL HICKMAN."

Holding the paper up so that the Governor could see the signature, the Danite chief said: "They say some Mormons is afeared to sign this petition, while they want the Morrisites to be freed. Here's one Mormon that is not afeared. I tell ye, Brigham Young is more afeared o' Bill Hickman than Bill Hickman is afeared o' Brigham Young."

Having delivered himself of his remark, the notorious Danite departed without further explanation, leaving the astonished Governor to himself.

The end of the agitation, owing to the exertions of the Governor and other prominent persons, was that the Morrisites were released; but it took several years before they had restored to them the property which had been illegally taken from them.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE COMING OF CIVILISATION TO UTAH

Governor Harding was transferred from Utah to the position of Chief Justice for Colorado in 1863, and was succeeded by James Duane Doty, who had, up to that time, been Superintendent of Indian Affairs. For some time there seemed to be a possibility of harmony descending on the warring sections of the disturbed Territory, and, in order to aid this happy conclusion, the Mormon leaders announced that they would give a ball in honour of General (late Colonel) Connor, who was soon to leave Utah.

Alas for the best of intentions! The invitations were sent out to the leaders of Camp Douglas; but the ladies of that community declined the honour of meeting the polygamous wives of the Mormons, and flatly refused to attend. Then Brigham Young's wives, hearing that the officers' wives would not acknowledge them, announced that they "would not associate with Gentile wantons on any condition"; and the result was that, although there was a large enough company of men at the function, the women who attended were few in number and not very high in the social scale.

Following this disastrous attempt to patch up a peace, the hostility between Mormons and Gentiles was worse than ever. Matters were at this stage when Vice-President Colfax, with a few other notables, went to Utah in the course of their trip through the Far West of America. Colfax seems to have had no hesitation in expressing his opinions on the Mormon question, and frankly told those who sought his impressions that the Government would continue to oppose polygamy. Now the Mormons had for a long time been anxious to get Utah admitted to the benefits of Statehood. Their leaders had energetically backed every effort which had, up till that time, been made in this direction ; but every effort had met with failure. Rightly or wrongly, they suspected that, even if they gave up polygamy, other sacrifices would be required of them, and their Church would be wrecked. The presence of such an important person as Colfax created for them an opportunity to get a semi-official pronouncement on the delicate points.

Brigham Young, in discussing the position with Colfax, asked him plainly whether, supposing Mormons surrendered polygamy, the Government would allow them to retain their other forms of church government and worship; and Colfax, rather injudiciously, as was soon discovered, replied that the Government would not interfere beyond demanding the surrender of polygamy.

From that time onward can be traced a definite Mormon effort to establish a State with a constitution prohibiting polygamy and bigamy, the result of which effort will be shown in due course. Even at that time the Mormons quoted the revelation which they have used on more than one occasion to cover an *arrière pensée* or retrieve a seeming lapse : " Whatsoever I command you, if so be that your enemies come upon you, that you be not able to do that I command you, I will hold you guiltless." There is a certain elasticity about a revelation of this kind which has proved very convenient in the history of the Mormons.

For the moment, however, no definite movement apparent to the casual observer was made to push the idea of getting Utah honoured by the status of Statehood, and, as there seemed to be some prospect of comparative peace settling on the Territory, Johnston withdrew his troops. With the retreat of the soldiers came many changes. In a comparatively short space many old quarrels broke out afresh. Gentiles were ducked in the River Jordan, and several prominent non-Mormons and anti-Mormons were beaten and maltreated. Squire Newton Brassfield, one of the victims, had married a woman who had been the polygamous wife of a Mormon named Hill. Brassfield was shot in the back and killed while walking along Salt Lake City streets. Doctor J. K. Robinson, who had married a Mormon woman, began an action in the courts against Mormons about some land. He was beaten and shot to death one night at the corner of Main and Third South Streets. Other murders occurred. A man named Walker was attacked outside the city, but escaped and gave the alarm. No arrest was made, but when Walker ventured into the open country outside the boundary he disappeared. Two apostates from Mormonism were shot *after* they had been arrested. A coloured man, called Negro Tom, also met death by unknown assassins.

On behalf of the Mormons it has been advanced that most of those victims were law-breakers, and, further, that the crimes of their deaths were never proved against the Latter-day Saints; but the facts and also the testimony of reliable persons all tend the other way, though it must also be admitted that the Gentiles were not all innocent people, any more than the Mormons were all villains. In most of those outrages there were doubtless circumstances present which have long faded into the limbo of things beyond the possibility of final proof or denial, but it is nevertheless true that the balance of the available evidence shows that the Mormons were guilty of a system of persecution towards the Gentiles which was at best, unjust, and at worst, savage.

This fresh outbreak of lawlessness and violence had the effect of scaring the Gentiles, who had now no protection since the departure of the troops; and the Gentile

Main Street, Salt Lake City.

Main Street, Salt Lake City.

Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institute is seen on the extreme left.

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merchants, with a few exceptions, made a joint appeal to Brigham Young, offering to leave Utah if he would buy their property at a nominal price. Brigham, however, was not in the mood for buying. He replied to their suggestion by pointing out that he had not asked them to come to Utah, and they could suit themselves whether they remained or left the Territory. Several left, and once again the population calmed down, and the community lived in comparative peace.

By the year 1868 conditions had considerably changed, owing largely to the advance made in the construction of the railway westwards, and the consequent increased facilities for business and travel. Governor Doty died, and was succeeded by the Hon. Charles Durkee. As contracts for the railroad were being taken out by both Gentiles and Mormons, there was little distinction made in the employment of workers, and the happiest event in that year of prosperity was a great "railroad meeting," held in the Tabernacle, attended by Mormons and non-Mormons, all apparently on the best of terms with each other.

The railroad reached Salt Lake Valley the following year. There had been some opposition among the Saints to the proposal to admit a railroad track into their stronghold; but all objections were ruled aside by Brigham, who boldly declared that "it was a damned poor religion that couldn't stand a railroad." Outsiders confidently predicted that the railroad would end Mormonism; others that it would bring great trade to the community; but it was soon seen that it brought both drawbacks and benefits. The isolation which the Mormons had enjoyed up till then was banished, and financial and social barricades were in danger of being swept away, or, at any rate, were being assailed. To save his flock from the consequences of those dangers, Brigham came to the rescue, and announced that "it was advisable that the people of Utah should become their own merchants." Their temporal supremacy was to be maintained at all costs, and the Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institution was forthwith founded for that purpose. The institution remains to this day, the greatest bulwark which the Mormons have against the trade of the Gentiles, securing for them a finanical position in the Far West, and aiding them to keep their money among themselves more successfully than any other measure could have been.

But the forward movement which seemed to have begun was retarded, and in some ways completely checked, by the semi-political struggle which had been brewing for some time; and, curiously enough, one of the main factors in the bloodless war arose from a schism within the Church, in which the "Godbeite" section assailed Brigham's administration and threatened to wreck his power.

The Godbeites took their name from William S. Godbe, a prominent Mormon merchant of Salt Lake City, who had for long been restive under the growing power of Brigham. He was joined by Henry Lawrence, W. H. Shearman, and E. W. Tullidge, all men commanding a certain following in the city. Those men and their followers were active supporters of the *Utah Magazine*, an organ of independent thought; but it was not until 1869 that they came out in open revolt. Their chief grievances were the "one-man power" of Brigham, and the increasing temporal government of the people by the priesthood.

There can be no doubt that the leaders of the movement were men of intelligence and foresight; and they were also men possessed of considerable courage and energy. The declaration of open revolt came rapidly after the First Presidency of the Church condemned the *Utah Magazine*. Brigham went further, and issued an order forbidding Mormons to buy or read it. The editors were called before the High Council, and charged with insubordination; but, though threatened with excommunication, they stuck to their opinions.

They were thereupon " cut off " from church membership.

For once the Mormon Presidency had made a mistake. Hitherto their excommunications had gone forth with all the authority of Papal Bulls in the Middle Ages, and their denunciations up to this time had the desired effect. But the Mormon leaders did not seem to have appreciated that civilisation in its westward march was breaking through their barriers of isolation; or, if they did appreciate the situation, they refused to compromise. The " cutting off " of Godbe and his friends only increased the schism.

The rebels may not have been numerous, but they were mostly wealthy and influential men, and, in defiance of Brigham and his lieutenants, they established a weekly newspaper, the *Mormon Tribune,* in order to uphold their views. Being men of some social standing, and being gifted with acumen and determination, their campaign was not of the fanatical order of most of the other rebel factions. They never captured the rank and file of Mormonism—probably they never wished to capture it—but the damage done to Brigham's prestige was all the greater in that it was the result of calm, responsible antagonism. They had no " revelations " ; they had no " visions " or " visitations " ; but their untiring efforts brought them many important converts, among them a wealthy merchant, named William H. Lawrence, and Amasa Lyman, one of the Twelve Apostles. From the day that he quarrelled with the Godbeites, Brigham Young's power declined.

It is stated that when W. S. Godbe was on trial before the Church authorities he refused to accept their views that God always guided Brigham Young in business affairs, and cited the dismal failure of the Colorado Transportation Company, one of Brigham's projects, in which he had intended to bring all the goods for Utah up the Colorado by steamers, thus reducing the land passage by several hundred miles and disposing of the overland freighters. The scheme collapsed after Godbe and his friends had subscribed heavily to the stock and warehouses had been built, and at the time of Godbe's appearance before the tribunal the stock of the Colorado Company was worth four cents per dollar share.

While Godbe was arguing that experience was the only guide in business matters, and was making Brigham uncomfortable by reciting the failure of the company, the latter interposed, and remarked that the stock would yet come up to a premium. "Very well," retorted Godbe, "if you, as prophet, think so, I am willing to sell to you all my holding at ten cents on the dollar, and you can have all the profit you prophesy." Brigham did not take the offer.

It was the Godbeites who really, with the help of a number of Gentiles, organised the Liberal party which fought the Mormons bitterly and relentlessly in an attempt to wrest the political power of the Church from the priesthood. At first they wanted to leave the Church without bitterness, but they were, in the words of one who saw most of the war between them and the authorities, "goaded into red-hot anti-Mormonism"; and their agitation, in which they were joined by other formidable forces at Washington and elsewhere, may be said to have begun the opposition which culminated in the great "drive," lasting from 1870 till 1875, in which the Mormon organisation was nearly overwhelmed.

Perhaps the most shameful of all the insults which the Godbeites endured at the hands of their late fellow Saints was the outrage perpetrated on Mr. T. B. H. and Mrs. Stenhouse, who had been for years strenuous workers in the Church. This couple were met one evening on their way homeward and pelted with offal and filth; and, though the incident may appear small in comparison with the greater affairs at stake, there was almost a revolt throughout the district when the matter became known, for Mrs. Stenhouse was loved and her husband was respected by all classes.

But the mills of justice grind small, if they grind slowly, and the inauguration of President Grant on March 4th, 1869, began a new era for Utah. Governor J. W. Shaffer was appointed in place of Governor Durkee, who had died the same year; and it was Governor Shaffer who began the reform of the Territory. Already he was in the grip of consumption, but he nevertheless stuck to his post, and dealt with the situation with firmness and caution; and, with Judge McKean, the new Chief Justice, he proved a terror to those Mormons who had hitherto paid little attention to the Administration. "As long as I can raise my hand you shall have my assistance for the right," was a statement in his last public utterance, and, though Mormons call him a "bigot," his preliminary work cleared the way for later reforms.

One of the big events of Shaffer's administration was the proclamation in which he abolished the Nauvoo Legion. Under Act of Congress the Governor of the Territory was Commander-in-Chief of the militia (which, as the reader will remember, was advanced by Brigham Young in 1857 as a reason why he opposed the entry into Utah of the troops under General Johnston), but the Legion had been so constituted by the Mormons that the Governor was superseded by Young. Previous Governors had permitted, though they may not have been blind to, this situation; but Governor Shaffer declined to accept it. By a bold move he declared himself Commander-in-Chief, and forbade the militia to assemble!

Late in 1870 Governor Shaffer died, his place being taken by Governor Vaughan, a man who had less force of personality than his predecessor, and who lost much prestige owing to the criticisms of the Republican journals regarding his appointment. He held the position for a year only, and the Hon. George L. Woods, who came from Oregon, became his successor. The great test of Woods's strength came the same year.

An election campaign was in progress when July 4th approached—and, as everyone knows, the "Fourth" is celebrated as Independence Day throughout the United States with great fervour—two celebrations being in process of organisation, each party trying to outdo the other. The Liberals had proposed a joint demonstration, but the Mormons declined the suggestion. A week before the event the city was staggered by the sudden appearance of a proclamation, issued by "Lieutenant-General" Daniel H. Wells, to the effect that the Nauvoo Legion (Mormon militia) would assemble on the 4th.

Wells's order created intense excitement, as it was well known that Governor Woods favoured his predecessor's proclamation. It is possible that the Mormons at first intended the mobilisation as a harmless demonstration; but, on the other hand, it is equally possible they intended something else, and grave disturbances might have resulted. In any case, they well knew that mobilisation had been forbidden. A further complication arose in the fact that the Governor was absent on business, his place being taken by Secretary G. A. Black. The day after Wells's order was issued the Secretary took train to the city of Ogden, and telegraphed the facts to the Governor. The latter replied that the proposed parade of the Legion must not be allowed, and the Secretary returned, and issued a proclamation to that effect.

Here was a clear-cut issue. The excitement in Salt Lake became intense, and it was freely stated that Wells had determined to mobilise his men in defiance of the Governor. The Mormon newspapers backed Wells, and published his order; and Wells expressed his conviction that he was buttressed in his intention inasmuch as he had "taken good counsel in the matter."

It was then hinted to Governor Black that Wells might find a loophole by declaring that he did not know officially of the existence of the proclamation prohibiting the mobilisation, and to close such a "get-out" the Governor sent a note to Colonel M. T. Patrick, the Marshal for Utah, asking him to deliver to Wells a copy of the document and to obtain from him an acknowledgment. This was delivered to Wells at 10 a.m. on July 3rd. Wells's reply was that he had seen the document, and knew its purport.

Throughout the day excitement in the city was at its highest pitch. A council of officials was called hurriedly, and a delegation from the council approached the Governor, and asked if he really intended to enforce the proclamation. Governor Black replied that he certainly did. Then a committee was formed, including the Marshal, and on their own initiative they called on Wells, warning him that the United States troops would disperse any armed body he might mobilise. Wells was defiant.

The night passed quietly, but everybody expected to see bloodshed on the morrow. At dawn the troops marched into the city with fixed bayonets, each man with a hundred rounds of ball-cartridge; but there was no strife after all, for late the previous night, though just in time, Wells had given in and countermanded his order for mobilisation.

The "Fourth" passed without incident. The Gentile procession was a gorgeous affair, and the Mormons have since that day seldom threatened violence against the law which was slowly but surely bringing them within its scope and jurisdiction.

Towards the end of 1871 the leaders of the Church revived the question of appealing for the admission of Utah as a State, and—probably remembering the hint of Mr. Colfax in 1865—proposed to adopt a constitution prohibiting polygamy and bigamy. The Gentiles proclaimed that such a sudden turning round on the part of the Church was an obvious fraud, and that the Mormon object was simply to get the Territory into the Union so that they could have their own laws on internal affairs. But the Mormons persisted in asserting their intention of abandoning polygamy, and appointed a Convention to draw up a "Constitution of the State of Deseret"—the name by which the Mormons desired the Territory to be known. For nearly a year a political fight waged over the proposition. Both in Utah and Washington, Mormons and Gentiles used their entire political machinery, and a regular "lobbying" campaign in Congress went merrily on. But though Congress, and indeed the whole of the United States, viewed with interest the Mormon proclamation and their protestations, much water flowed down Utah cañons before the Territory was admitted to Statehood. Congress had set itself against polygamy. Yet in 1872, the very year in which the Mormons protested they intended to give up polygamy, they nominated for Congress, and elected, Apostle George Q. Cannon, the husband of four wives. Cannon's opponent was General G. R. Maxwell, an old veteran, but he stood no chance against the solid Mormon vote of 24,000. The Gentile vote was less than 4,000; and every Mormon woman voted for the polygamist.

For some time after this the Gentiles gave up the attempt to fight the strong opposition, and turned once again to commerce; and the legal machinery of the Territory became clogged and hardly workable. But if in Utah there seemed to be little hope of fighting Mormonism successfully, events soon showed that the efforts in this direction were bearing fruit in Washington. In June, 1874, Congress passed the "Poland Bill" (introduced by Mr. Poland, of Vermont), which provided that, in order to abolish the hitherto illegal system of empanelling juries, both Mormon and Gentile Courts should select one hundred names, and from these two hundred *grand* and *petit* jurors should be taken. The Bill had the effect of giving life to the almost moribund courts, and a number of prosecutions against Mormons for various offences began.

John D. Lee, whose share in the Mountain Meadows massacre has already been told in a previous chapter, was captured and executed. Other Mormons fled, and remained in hiding. Many polygamy and bigamy trials were brought on—one of them concerning the husband of Margaret Hawkins, an Englishwoman, was a specially disgusting one—and the culprits mostly punished. But even with improved machinery the task of dealing with polygamy and "unlawful cohabitation" was far too great for the courts, and all the while the Mormons used all their wits and powers to evade the arm of the law. For several years the legal combat went on, cases of polygamy being detailed in the courts, then fought over in higher courts, and often taken finally to the Supreme Court.

Throughout all this judicial warring the Mormons had an uneasy feeling that the Gentiles intended to aim in the prosecutions as high as even the Mormon President, and after the execution of Lee there was a nervousness, which was only increased by rumours, that Brigham Young would soon find himself before the Judges. Had such a move been made, there is little doubt that a general uprising of Mormons would have taken place; for, whatever his faults, Brigham was admired, obeyed, and followed unquestioningly by his flock. But Brigham Young escaped whatever intention in that direction was nursed by the Gentiles. On August 29th, 1877, he faced a higher tribunal than any established by man, for on that day he died, in his house, of inflammation of the bowels.

His remarkable personality and his adventurous career, consummating in the leadership of Mormonism, deserve considerable attention; and to these considerations the next chapter is devoted.

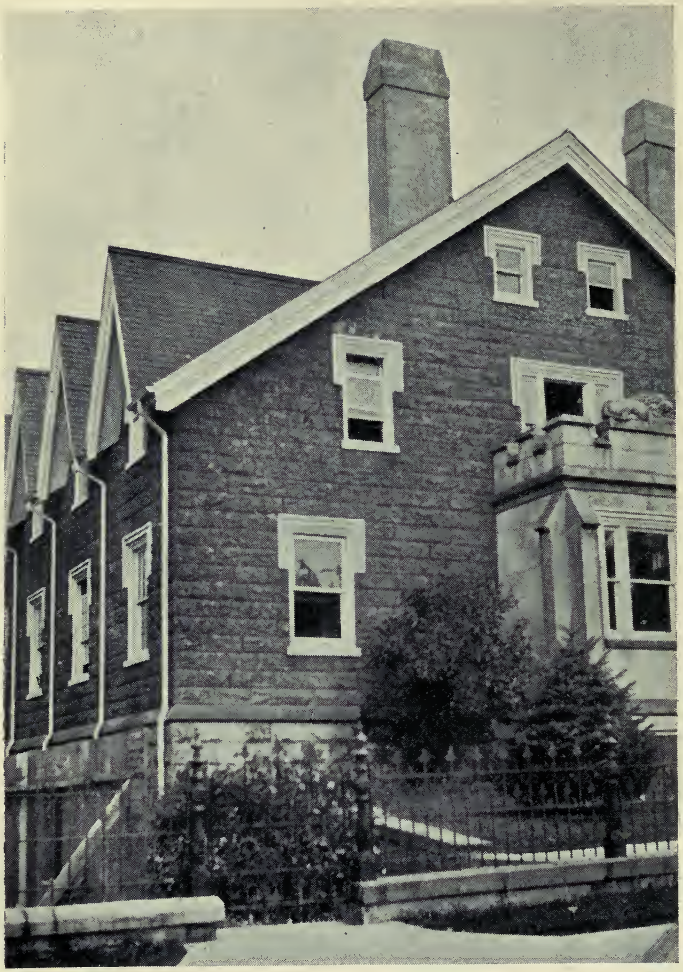
CHAPTER TWELVE

BRIGHAM YOUNG: THE MAN AND THE PROPHET

WHEN the news of Brigham Young's death was flashed over the telegraph wires, the outer world accepted the event with various comments; but the decease of the leader was a heavy blow to Mormonism. His mind was active practically up to the last, and his seventy-six years had been crammed with activity. Few men could have held together, as he did in the early days, a Church which was quivering, as the Mormon Church was, before the smashing blows of its adversaries. Few would have dared to lead a people out of the east into the untrodden wilds of the Far West with so little preparation and so few defences against the dangers and wreckage which threatened. Few could have withstood the assaults made against the citadel of the sect, and retained a firm directing and controlling power as he had done.

Almost every way one looks at this man one is constrained to admit his remarkable abilities. He was a worker with his people, glazing the windows of the Kirtland Temple with his own hands. He was a diplomat, dealing with, and often defeating, Government officials at their own game. His business acumen was keen. But as he felt his power increasing he made the mistake of an arrogant man, and his success blinded him to the inevitable consequences of his domineering attitude. From being the forceful leader of a band of exiles he became the despot of a mountain colony.

Brigham Young was born on June 1st, 1801, at Whittingham, Windham County, Vermont. He was the son of an old soldier from Massachusetts who had fought on the side of the revolutionaries, and Brigham was



THE LION HOUSE, SALT LAKE CITY.
Built by Brigham Young for his wives, and still in use by the Church.

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one of a family of eleven, six sons and five daughters. The whole family followed him into the Mormon Church, but the father died on the trail when marching with a company to Utah. None of the other children rose to anything like fame. They all embraced polygamy, and proved their devotion to the doctrine by their lives. It is true that John Young, generally known as "Uncle John," became a Patriarch; but he was merely a figure-head, and was directed in all important affairs by his famous brother.

Of Brigham's early life not much is definitely known. He was a preacher among the Methodists, and also worked as a farm-hand; but his labours on the land were spasmodic, and he also took up the work of a glazier, at which he seems to have made more progress than at his other occupations. He married, when quite young, Miriam Works, at Auburn, Cayuga County, New York; but this union was not a very happy one. His wife had a hard struggle to make ends meet, and, after a hopeless fight, died some years before he joined the Mormons. Gilbert Weed, the grandfather of Ann Eliza Webb, who became the nineteenth wife of Brigham, knew the prophet at this time, and stated that he never knew a lazier man. It was commonly stated that Miriam "died of discouragement."

Brigham first heard of the new religion of Joseph Smith from Samuel H. Smith, the youngest brother of Joseph, who had been sent on a missionary tour just after Mormonism had been published to the world. At the first meeting Brigham was "almost converted," but it was two years later—in 1832—before he finally took the plunge. He was baptised into the Church by Elder Eleazer Miller, and at once set out for Kirtland, which the Saints were then making their headquarters.

On the way he met the prophet, who was chopping timber in the woods, and as a result of the meeting he was "blessed exceedingly," Smith prophesying at the time that "Brigham would one day lead the Church."

The dissenting sects who broke away from Brigham in later years say that Joseph added in his prophecy, "and he will lead it to hell."

Whether this be true or not, it is certainly the fact that Joseph Smith soon found Young to be the most important and practical man he had among his converts. Brigham was just the kind of man Smith needed: a worker, capable of building a house, conducting a mothers'-meeting, interviewing tradesmen, and generally directing and supervising the rank and file. Young set to work on the Temple which was then building, and glazed the windows himself; and, having proved his worth in the community, he advanced rapidly in the Church. At Kirtland he married, in 1832, Mary Ann Angell, his first and legal wife in Mormonism. This woman remained entirely faithful to him through the long troublous years which followed, but his treatment of her later was harsh and undeserved. She became sad and worn after he took other wives, and in Salt Lake City he moved her about to suit his convenience. She first lived with him in a small white house on the hill behind the present official buildings; but when the Beehive House was finished she lived there with a number of plural wives. Then she was put back to the other building, which was then little better than a barn. In spite of this she remained devoted to her husband to all outward appearance, keeping her sorrows to herself. She had five children, three sons and two daughters, and one of the former, Joseph A., was so wild and unruly that he was sent to Europe on a missionary tour; but he came back uncured and as much a rake as ever.

Another son, Brigham, jun., was expected by everyone to be his father's successor in the prophetic chair. He was taken about everywhere by his father, and even tried to ape his parent's mannerisms; but he never became prophet.

One of the daughters, Alice, was for many years leading actress in the Salt Lake theatre. She was a fine-looking girl, and she did not always see eye to eye with her father on church and other matters. Though not quite convinced about the doctrine of polygamy, she nevertheless married a well-known Mormon, Clawson, who already had two wives. But she nursed her private grievances and lived her own life, dressing "loudly" and without consideration for public opinion.

One day her father met her in Salt Lake City when she was looking more than usually "dressy," and his brow clouded. "Say," he remarked, "why are you rigged up in that style, Alice? You look like a wanton."

She turned, and, facing him, replied stingingly, "Well, what else am I? Whose teachings have made me what I am?"

Not long afterwards Alice was found dead in bed with a poison bottle by her side. She had taken her life.

Three years after he married Mary Ann Angell, Brigham gained the coveted position of Apostle. He worked hard for the Church, sparing neither himself nor those to whom he issued orders; and in 1838, owing to the death of Apostle Patton and the secession of Apostles Orson Hyde and Thomas Marsh, he was elected chief of the Twelve Apostles. (Both Hyde and Marsh rejoined the Church, the latter after the exodus to Utah.)

It was from 1839 to 1841 that Young made his important missionary tour through England, which ended in a complete triumph, and after his return he was second only to Joseph Smith in authority. His energy in England was tremendous. Landing at Liverpool, he tramped hundreds of miles, conducted meetings almost daily, argued with objectors and sceptics, expounded the *Book of Mormon*, superintended the spreading of the "gospel" throughout the Midlands and the North, caused thousands of pamphlets and tracts to be distributed, and welcomed every convert with fervour.

He was one of the first to accept polygamy as a revelation, and, while practising it in secret, lied about it in public as calmly as he afterwards expounded the doctrine. The following are the names of some of his known polygamous wives; not all were living at the same time, but it is beyond cavil that in all he had at least twenty-nine, and at one period twenty-three were alive. It was after the Mormons reached Salt Lake that Brigham fully blossomed out into real polygamous enthusiasm. The list includes a few widows who were "sealed" to him and added to his large harem:

Lucy Decker Seeley, } sisters
Clara Decker, }
Harriet Cook,
Lucy Bigelow,
Martha Bowker,
Eliza Burgess,
Harriet Barney,
Miss Twiss,
Susan Snively,
Clara Chase,
Margaret Alley,
Mary Bigelow,
Amelia Folsom,
Ellen Rockwood,
Margaret Peirce,
Mary Van Cott,
Eliza R. Snow,
Zina Huntington,
Mrs. Augusta Cobb,
Emily Partridge,
Mrs. Hampton,
Emmeline Free,
Jemima Angell,
Ann Eliza Webb.

His first polygamous wife was Lucy Decker Seeley, the wife of Dr. Isaac Seeley, a rather dissipated individual. Brigham "sealed" Mrs. Seeley to himself secretly, and when the husband discovered this he threatened vengeance; but it is stated by Ann Eliza Webb that Brigham drove Seeley from the district by counter-threats. Lucy was a superior housekeeper, and was put in charge of the Beehive House. She had seven children, and for a time was given entire control of the Beehive House, no other wife being allowed there while she was in charge; but when Brigham married Amelia Folsom there came a change, and poor Lucy was compelled to wait on Brigham and his latest acquisition as if she were a servant.

When she married Brigham she was a stout, short woman, with brown hair and eyes, and decidedly pretty. She openly admitted that she "loved Brother Brigham," and was with him through the pilgrimage to Salt Lake.

Apparently Brigham was satisfied with Lucy, for his second wife in polygamy was Clara Decker, Lucy's sister. Their brother, Charles Decker, married two of Brigham's daughters, possibly in return for the compliment of the prophet in taking his two sisters.

The two sisters, Lucy and Clara, were really "sealed" to Brigham at the same time, and for a short time Clara was quite a favourite. Like her sister, she was short and stout and attractive. She had three children.

After the trek from Nauvoo, Brigham took the opportunity, on arrival at Winter Quarters, of marrying Harriet Cook, one of the converts who had come from Michigan. This was a bad alliance for Brigham. Harriet was a mannish sort of woman, who had a temper which even Brigham quailed under. She gave him more worry than any other of his wives, and even after their son, Oscar, was born, their quarrels were fierce and prolonged. When she fully recognised what polygamy meant she went into paroxysms of rage, and in one such fit she tried to strangle her son. Brigham afterwards said that he "would have no more of that breed," and, finding her ungovernable, he refused to live with her, and avoided her as much as possible. She never appreciated Brigham's point of view that he had raised her from the position of a servant (she had been in the employ of Mrs. Webb, mother of the nineteenth wife, at Nauvoo) to that of the wife of the head of the Church; but in her later years her denunciations of polygamy and the Saints abated somewhat.

The great tragedy of the harem, however, was Young's treatment of his once favourite, Emmeline Free, after he had secured the heartless Amelia Folsom. Emmeline was for over ten years the queen of the harem. She was a very beautiful woman, tall and graceful, of sweet disposition; and was in many ways an accomplished woman. She belonged to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and her ten children were said to be the best-looking of Brigham's large family. When the prophet married her he went to almost any length to bestow on her marks of his admiration. She had special rooms, better furnished than those of the other wives, servants to wait upon her, and in every way she was treated as a special possession. She had a great influence over her husband, who received her friends in semi-state in the saloon; she had the seat of honour at table, and was given privileges elsewhere which were denied to all the others.

For over ten years all went well. But ten years leave their mark on any woman, and Emmeline was no exception. She still possessed as sweet a disposition as ever; but Brigham had tired, and, in looking round for other additions to his harem, he became enamoured of Amelia Folsom.

Amelia also came from New Hampshire. For hours the prophet's carriage stood at the door of her father's house while he visited the daughter in preparation for his proposal. Amelia was not a beauty in the way that Emmeline was a beauty. She had certain characteristics which attracted men; she was well formed, and she had something of the attractiveness generally found in women called adventuresses. But Brigham had made up his mind to get her, and he persisted till he won. He sent her lover off on a missionary tour; then he applied himself to wooing Amelia. First he tried to get her by promises of a happy existence, but to these Amelia turned a deaf ear. Then he played his trump card. She had been taught, as all Mormon women were taught, that "revelations" were beyond questioning, and one day Brigham addressed her thus: "Amelia, you must be my wife. God has revealed it to me. You cannot be saved by any other man, and if you marry me you will be a queen in the celestial world."

That finished it. Twice before had the Endowment

House been prepared for this wedding, and now it took place. They were married on January 23rd, 1863, in open defiance of the Anti-polygamy Bill passed by Congress on July 2nd, 1862.

Poor Emmeline Free was heart-broken at the marriage, seeing her place in Brigham's affections and household being usurped. She had done everything possible to prevent the ceremony, begging, praying, and pleading with Brigham not to take another wife. She even went the length of asking Mary Ann Angell, the first wife, to help her stop it by some means or other; but Mary Ann Angell had grown cold and bitter because of her own troubles, and she was afraid to interfere.

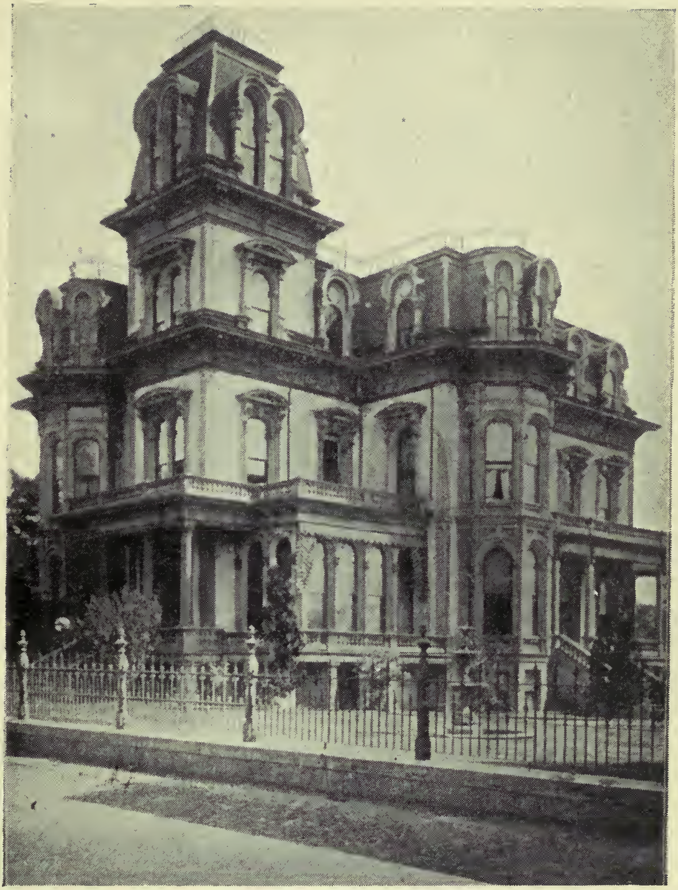
Once in the harem, Amelia showed what kind of woman she was. She ruled the place with an iron hand, scarcely condescending to speak to the other wives, and generally conducting herself as those who knew her prophesied she would. Wherever Brigham went she was with him. She went to the theatre, and occupied his box; she rode through the city like a queen in Brigham's carriage; she accompanied him to various parts of the Territory, and wherever she went she "put on airs" and conducted herself like a real adventuress. So much influence had she over Brigham that he built a mansion for her own occupation, and furnished it luxuriously. It went under the name of Amelia Palace, and was erected opposite the Beehive House and the Lion House, where his other wives were kept. It stands still; but after the death of Brigham it was said to be haunted, and for some time it was a difficult place to let. Only one President of the Church has since tried to live in it, but he left after a short tenancy.

But all this had the effect of hastening the end of the once beautiful Emmeline. She broke her heart, became a morphine-eater, and died at last in 1875, a terrible wreck of her former self, her final hours, according to a nurse, being too terrible to bear description. And this poor wasted thing, who had once been the real queen of the household, was buried in a cheap, common coffin, her husband making a few unemotional remarks at the graveside before they covered her with clods.

But Brigham soon found that his life with Amelia was not to be all so pleasant as he expected. She had an ungovernable temper, and she was of coarser stuff than Emmeline had been. When the first flush of excitement at her position had passed she proved a pretty handful, defying Brigham in her house, and generally domineering him with the same masterfulness as she adopted towards his other wives. On one occasion, when he sent her a sewing-machine not of the kind she had asked for, she kicked it downstairs, ordering him to get it changed at once for the kind she had demanded. Ann Eliza Webb has also put it on record that she was present once when she threatened to thrash him unless he carried out some instructions she had given him. Amelia outlived Brigham, and was present at the services held to his memory at the Tabernacle; and out of her pin-money she saved 10,000 dollars for her private purse.

The other wives may be noticed shortly; and most prominent of these was Eliza R. Snow, the poetess of the Mormon movement. Before she married Brigham she had been the wife of Joseph Smith, but she was "sealed" to Brigham for this life, though she was to return to Joseph "for eternity." She was the most intellectual of all the wives, and some of her poetry is fairly good verse. She lived at the Lion House with the others, believed thoroughly in all Mormon doctrines, and was the founder of the Female Relief Society, besides being the writer of a number of Mormon hymns. Neither she nor Amelia had any children.

Lucy Bigelow was married to Brigham when quite young. After asking other wives, all of whom refused, Brigham got her to take up residence at the town of St. George, 400 miles from Salt Lake. She was a quiet little woman, but she felt keenly her position when



AMELIA PALACE, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS GARDO HOUSE, SALT LAKE CITY.

It is situated opposite Beehive House, and was built by Brigham Young for Amelia Folsom, his favourite wife.

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Brigham and Amelia came at times to stay at her home and she was compelled to serve them. Once she became so annoyed at their treatment that she spoke her mind so freely that Brigham and Amelia left the house at once. She had three daughters.

Martha Bowker was never treated with much consideration, and took all the snubs she received quite quietly. She stayed at the Lion House, and spoke little. She too had married Brigham when she was young. She had no children, but adopted a daughter.

Harriet Barney was a tall, graceful, stout woman, of considerable charm. Though never a favourite, she nevertheless was respected by Brigham, to whom she never hesitated to speak her mind. She had been married before she entered his harem, and, with her three children, lived at the Lion House until she moved into a cottage near the Tabernacle. She had a son of whom Brigham was the father, and she was perfectly convinced that polygamy was right and holy.

Eliza Burgess was a native of Manchester, England, who came to Nauvoo with her parents among the earliest converts. When her parents died she was employed as a servant to Mrs. Angell Young, with whom she came to Salt Lake in 1848. It would be too mild to say that she respected Brigham. She venerated him, and would obey his slightest request with an alacrity that was never approached by the other wives. For seven years she occupied this position in Young's family, and when he noticed her devotion and offered to be her "saviour," so that she might secure everlasting salvation, her joy knew no bounds. She was married to him—and all the other wives, and outsiders also, immediately said that Eliza had emulated a certain biblical character, and had "served seven years" for her husband. For some time she lived at the Lion House, but later she went to Provo, where Brigham had another establishment, and lived there apparently quite happily. She had one son, Alphilus.

Susan Snively was a German woman, and was quite young when she married the prophet. She looked her nationality, and was the plainest of all his wives, but at the same time she was perhaps the most capable in housework. She could knit, sew, weave, dye, make butter, and was generally most efficient. She lived after her marriage at a farm belonging to Brigham, and superintended a large number of labourers and the entire work. In later years her strength failed her, and she went to live at the Lion House, where Brigham took little interest in her, and neglected her, to her sorrow.

Mary Van Cott was a pretty young widow, who had one child when she entered the harem. For some time she was something of a favourite, for her good-looks made her quite attractive and charming. She and Amelia Folsom were at daggers drawn for a long time, the latter fearing that the widow would succeed in ousting her from her lord and master's affections; but ultimately Brigham found a way out by presenting to Mary a pretty cottage, where she lived with her child and also one of which Brigham was the father.

Zina D. Huntington was the former wife of Henry Jacobs. Her charms brought Brigham on the scene, and he sent the husband off on a mission, and then "sealed" Zina to himself. The husband then apostatised and shook the dust of Mormonism off his feet; and Brigham had Zina to himself. She had one daughter, an actress, and she was extremely useful in the harem because of her ability as a physician and nurse.

Mrs. Augusta Cobb belonged to Boston, where she met Brigham Young when he went there on a mission. She became enamoured of the prophet, and her stylish figure attracted him. Her enthusiasm for Mormonism became almost a mania; but, finding that Brigham was tiring of her, she one day asked him to release her from being "sealed" for eternity to him and "seal" her to Jesus Christ. (One hesitates to write this blasphemy, but it shows to what extent the doctrine of polygamy had a hold on the minds of these unfortunate people.) With all his daring Brigham did not feel capable of this atrocity. He told her that he had no power to do it, as his authority did not extend so far; but he did the next best, and transferred her to "the prophet Joseph Smith."

Jemima Angell was a relative of Mary Ann Angell. She had three children when Brigham married her at Nauvoo. She joined in the trek to Salt Lake, and worked in the household till her health broke down, when she was taken to Weber Valley, fifty miles off. There she died, and her relatives brought the body to Salt Lake in a pine box carried on a waggon, as a proper coffin could not be had at Weber Valley. When they arrived at Brigham's house he refused to come out and make any provision for the burial, and it was only after a considerable time, and because he saw that the incident might cause trouble, that he at last appeared. When asked where his dead wife was to be buried, he replied, "I suppose she may as well go to her sisters on the hill," meaning the cemetery. The burial took place there.

Clara Chase died a maniac. Before her death those who saw her state that hers was a most pitiable case. She endured untold agony before her child was born owing to the harshness with which Brigham treated her, and would often break out screaming, "I am going to hell! Brigham caused it. I am going to hell!"

Emily Partridge was a childless widow, who had been in the harem of Joseph Smith before Young took her over. She lived at the farm for some time, and seems to have gone through life without either special notice from Brigham or anybody.

Ellen Rockwood was hardly noticed by Young after he married her. She lived at some distance from his headquarters, and he used to call on her every six months.

Margaret Alley was a young woman who grew into a matron of morbid temperament. She died in 1853, after an uneventful existence. She had two children.

Ann Eliza Webb, whom the prophet constantly pestered to marry him, lived for some time among the collection of wives at Salt Lake, but ultimately fled, and became an anti-Mormon lecturer and writer.

Brigham, it must be mentioned, was not always successful in his wooing, and there are on record several cases in which his powers of persuasion and "revelation" were wasted. One such instance is that of Selina Ursenbach, sister of Octave Ursenbach, who put his love for the Church into the construction of the famous organ in the Tabernacle. Selina was courted by Brigham for a considerable time, but when he proposed marriage she refused him at once, and after he began to be a nuisance because of his persistence she left the Church and Utah, and went back to her friends in Switzerland.

The above list does not include all Young's matrimonial adventures, the full extent of which will never be known. It is known, however, that he was "sealed" for eternity to many women to whom he could not be married on earth. After his death there were widows and wives of other men who let it be known that they expected at the resurrection to be mated to this prophet for the remainder of eternity, and were apparently content to share his affections in a sphere where he would be their God.

So much, then, for his wives. What of his home life with his harem?

Young was a well-made man, of strong constitution and simple habits, and when at home rose every morning at seven o'clock. He had breakfast leisurely, and went to his private office about nine o'clock, where he dictated letters to his secretary, read the newspapers, or had them read to him. His barber called punctually at ten, and attended to his toilet. The remainder of the morning was spent with visitors, of whom there were generally a fair number.

He always dined at three o'clock, and met his large family for a short time. But he seldom took much interest in his children, and it is reported that he once excused this lack of interest by the remark, "The bull never takes notice of the calves; that is the mother's work." Dinner was served in the Lion House very much after the manner of a boarding-house meal. There were two tables, a short and a long one, placed in the shape of a T, the short one being at the head of the room. At the top sat Brigham and his favourite wife. At one time the favourite was Emmeline, but latterly it was Amelia. The other wives filed into the apartment when a bell rang, and took their places. Generally the small table at which Brigham sat was better supplied with good things than was the other table, but when visitors were present there was little difference.

After dinner he was not seen by the family again till about seven in the evening, when family prayers were held in one of the apartments, with the wives ranged round the prophet, who sat in the middle of the room and read a passage of Scripture, after which he prayed, while they all knelt at their chairs. When family prayers were finished they all trooped out; but more often than not the prophet left first, and the wives had to spend the evening among themselves.

In spite of the claim that he was guided by Divine direction in business enterprises, Brigham was not always a success therein. He failed in the manufacture of beet sugar, though 60,000 dollars were invested in new machinery; and the Cottonwood Canal was a farce, for after the cutting had been made it was discovered that the city end was ten feet higher than the end at which the water was to be turned on. Mention has already been made of the Colorado Transportation Company fiasco, while in some minor enterprises he was not more successful than anyone would have been without Divine aid. On the other hand, however, he had several successes to his credit, and his best and most important inspiration was the Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institute.

His fatal illness was short, but it has been held that his mode of life tended to shorten an existence which might have come near the century. His death was followed by long reviews of his life in the Mormon newspapers—accounts which erred, as was to be expected, on the side of eulogy, inasmuch as they were written by perfervid admirers.

The remains lay in state in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City all September 1st and until noon the following day, when a funeral service was held, at which the huge building was crammed to its fullest capacity. The organ and the platform were draped in black, and the Twelve Apostles (except two, who were on missionary tours), with all the other office-bearers, were present. The very numerous family of the dead prophet and the wives and relatives were in a prominent position. The coffin was laid on a catafalque before the centre aisle under the platform, covered with flowers. It was a simple but impressive ceremony. The band played the Dead March in Saul; prayers were offered; hymns were sung; speeches were made in praise of the deceased's work by several leaders.

Elder Cannon then read the directions for his internment, which Young had himself written a few years before he died. These directions were to the effect that the body should be kept for a few days, if possible, before burial. He desired to be buried in a coffin of one-and-a-quarter-inch redwood boards, dressed in his temple clothes, with a pillow under his head. The coffin was to be wide enough for him to turn to either side, should he wish, and he instructed his family not to buy crape, but if they had any in their possession they could wear that. The funeral services were to be very simple, and his remains were to be placed on a

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S GRAVE, SALT LAKE CITY (surrounded by iron rail).
The flat tombstone nearer Young's grave is the tomb of Eliza R. Snow, the Mormon poetess, once wife of Joseph Smith, and later of Brigham Young.

To face page

bier and carried to his private vault, the coffin to be put into a box of redwood, and the vault to be covered with a flat stone.

His directions were carried out. After the vast audience of over 10,000 persons joined in a specially composed hymn, the service ended, and the people ranged themselves along the route. The bier was surrounded by Apostles, and the procession following included the Mayor and the City Council, the Tabernacle choir, Young's four brothers, the whole of the priesthood, and several thousand people. The burial-place was not far from the temple grounds, and after the coffin was lowered a hymn was sung and prayer offered. Thus ended the simple funeral ceremony, and Brigham Young, the man who had made his name notorious throughout two continents, passed out of sight of his fellows for ever.

There was considerable speculation as to what his will would show, for he was known to have possessed a considerable amount of real estate. The curiosity of the people was satisfied the following day, when the will was read, and it was announced that the property, as valued four years previously, was worth between two and three million dollars. The executors were George Q. Cannon, Albert Carrington, and the prophet's son, Brigham, junior. It was admitted to the world that the late leader was the father of fifty-six children, and when he died left seventeen wives, sixteen sons, and twenty-eight daughters.

The will divided the property between the families in proportion to the number of children, and the executors were directed to turn over the valuable interests which the deceased held in trust for the Church. But here legal conflict broke out, much to the amusement of the Gentiles, from the seven surviving children of Emmeline Free, part of whose contention was embodied in a complaint that "the executors have fraudulently allowed a false and fraudulent claim against the estate of the testator, on the 10th day of April, 1878," which claim amounted to nearly a million dollars.

The court finding of the case was that two receivers should be appointed, and the executors were told to make another division of the property; to which they replied that this was impossible, as they had already divided it, and turned the remainder over to the Church.

They were thereupon seized for contempt of court, but the heirs who had brought the action agreed to accept 75,000 dollars in full settlement of their claims. John Taylor, who succeeded Brigham in the Presidential chair of the Church, had been sued as having received part of the estate on behalf of the Church, but he gave bonds to abide by the legal decision.

The executors, who could not give such bonds, spent a month in gaol. The settlement of this action closed the quarrels over the dead prophet's property.

All Young's wives are now dead. The last survivor was Eliza Burgess, the Lancashire servant-girl, who died in Salt Lake City as recently as August 20th, 1915, aged eighty-seven years. She had lived in Utah since 1848, and her death closed the will of Brigham so far as his wives were concerned. In her life she had seen the Church emerge from being a mere band of exiles wandering across the vast prairies without any specified objective into a modern, progressive community, the possessors of a fine city, situated in a beautiful corner of the Rocky Mountains, and blessed with a good climate. One can scarcely wonder that she remained to the last an enthusiastic Mormon after one understands the strong influences which surrounded her all those years.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

A NEW ERA OPENS

THE death of Brigham Young opened up a new era for the Latter-day Saints. Opinions had been freely expressed by non-Mormons that with Young's decease the sect would disintegrate and break up, and for some time after the funeral the eyes of the world watched closely for the first signs of decay.

But those who entertained this view failed to appreciate the fact that all communities, after passing a certain stage in the process of formation, retain a cohesion, unseen but very real, which only a violent catastrophe or an overwhelming assault can dissipate. The death of Young, serious though it was, could not be called by either of these names. The Church was a greater thing than Brigham Young, though he was the head and front of the movement. A new generation had been born in the fold; a set of people, different in many ways from those who had started out on the trail from Nauvoo, now composed the rank and file. The body had lost its head; but it was still a body of importance; and a new head, even if weaker and less resolute than that just lost, could easily be found. A new head was found in due course.

In some quarters it was anticipated that Brigham's successor would be his son, John W. Young, who seems to have had ideas that this would be the case. Shortly after the funeral John's third wife, Libby Canfield, of Philadelphia, left him because he intended to celebrate another polygamous marriage; but he excused himself for this by stating that he was only following his father's wishes. Any hopes he had of succession, however, were shattered by the action of the Twelve Apostles, who voted John Taylor president of the Twelve. It was not until three years later that the First Presidency of the Church was organised for the third time, with Taylor as President, and George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith as his Councillors.

The new head of the Church was seventy-two years of age when he took over the position of "prophet, seer, and revelator." He was a native of Milnthorp. England, and was born in 1808. He joined the Mormons in Canada in 1836, and had done missionary service in England, France, and Germany, besides doing a considerable amount of literary work for Mormonism. Practically from the first he had been in close touch with Joseph Smith, and was with the prophet in the gaol at Carthage when Joseph and Hyrum met their deaths. Taylor, on that occasion, received four wounds from the volley which killed the Smiths. Of the four shots, one struck Taylor's watch, a heavy lever, stopping the hands at 5 o'clock, 16 minutes, 26 seconds, which time is called by the Mormons "The solemn hour of the prophet's death."

Taylor's rule was not of the strict, domineering kind of his predecessor, and as a result he gained considerable prestige among the Gentiles for the Saints and their creed. His milder personality attracted and retained the friendship of men who would never have remained to strengthen the hands of Young; and it is certain that had he at this time thrown over the doctrine of polygamy, the Mormon people would have been spared much suffering, and the Church would have been allowed to develop its life with much more chance of success than it has ever had. But that question had still to be fought through the dark days before the Saints—and it still has to be fought to a decisive conclusion.

Daniel Wells left the mayoral chair of Salt Lake City later, his place being taken by Feramorz Little, under whose management the city affairs became less confused. During the year 1880 the Saints organised a great jubilee celebration, and at President Taylor's suggestion one half of the people's indebtedness to the Perpetual Emigration Fund was released. A thousand cows and five thousand sheep were distributed among the deserving poor, and other gifts were given, as the previous season had been dry, and there had been a shortage in crops. Pioneer Day was celebrated with great rejoicings. (It was not until 1897 that the monument to Brigham Young and the Pioneers was erected and unveiled by President Woodruff, the foremost of the diminishing band who "discovered" Salt Lake.)

But once again trouble loomed ahead even while the Mormons were congratulating themselves that they had passed the last of their sufferings. In the summer of 1881 the Gentile crusade against polygamy began in Utah, and before long it had spread throughout the entire country. It was the most bitter of all the fights against the Mormons in which non-Mormons throughout the country had yet engaged, and it threatened the whole fabric of the Church. The Bill of 1862 had never been recognised by the Mormons, who followed the example of their leaders, and went on taking plural wives with the utmost indifference to the law. But Washington now seemed determined to pursue the question to the utmost, and on March 22nd, 1882, the Edmunds Act became law. Its provisions were sweeping and drastic. Polygamy was henceforth punishable by disfranchisement, a fine of not more than 500 dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding three years. Cohabitation with more than one woman in the marriage relation was to be punished by a fine of 300 dollars and six months' imprisonment. Polygamists and believers in polygamy were denied permission to act as jurors. No polygamist could hold office or vote.

The effect of this law was to spread panic throughout Mormondom. Practically every Mormon of "good standing" was a polygamist, in theory if not in practice, and the new law destroyed what they had long sought, namely, political power. Throughout the United States the non-Mormons prophesied the break-up of the Church once again, and, though the Mormons fought hard to keep their position—arguing that plural marriage was a religious doctrine, and the State had no right to interfere with religion—a final blow came in 1887, when a supplemental Act, known as the Edmunds-Tucker law, was passed. It gave the *coup de grace* to any lingering hope which the Mormons had that they could hold their own against the Government. The Edmunds-Tucker law gave further powers to officials, and laid it down that certificates of all marriages must henceforth be filed in the offices of the Probate Courts, the Judges of which were appointed by the Government; further, it disincorporated the Church, and instructed the Supreme Court to wind up its affairs.

There was no escape from these laws. Thousands of Mormons were disfranchised, and for those who pleaded that they were not polygamists a test oath was framed. Case after case of the defiant section—which was the more numerous one—came into the courts. Rudger Clawson, who afterwards was selected one of the Twelve Apostles, was the first to appear in court. He appeared there on November 3rd, 1884, and was found guilty, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment and fined 800 dollars. Altogether over 1,000 Mormons—many of them prominent Saints—were sent to gaol, while as many fled to escape the effects of the law. Most of the leaders, including President Taylor, were among the fugitives. He disappeared from Salt Lake on February 1st, 1885, and never returned. He died in exile on July 25th, 1887, "killed," said the official Mormon announcement of his death, "by the cruelty of officials who have, in this Territory, misrepresented the Government of the United States."

Those were terrible times for the Saints; but the leaders alone were to blame for having instituted, supported, and retained, in the face of warnings, a doctrine which they knew was abhorrent to the whole of the civilised world. The great crisis came in the administration of Wilford Woodruff, who was chosen by the Twelve Apostles to succeed Taylor in the Presidency. Woodruff was chief of the Twelve, and, with Apostles Cannon and Joseph F. Smith as his Councillors (the three forming the First Presidency), took the reins of the Church until 1889, when he was elected to full power as "prophet."

Wilford Woodruff was not the man for the position at that time; but it is questionable if any man then in the Mormon Church was capable of handling the situation as it ought to have been handled. In vain did the Mormons protest to the world that they were loyal, law-abiding, peaceful citizens. The one stern answer was, "You are polygamists, and polygamy is prohibited by law." It did them no good to contend that plural marriage was part of their faith. The Supreme Court answered by deciding that the laws to suppress plural marriages were constitutional, and the first amendment of the Constitution (providing for the free exercise of religion) could not be advanced in the case of polygamy.

Thus every avenue of escape was closed for the Mormons. The leaders, by their duplicity, had brought the Mormon rank and file into a cul-de-sac. Their defiance of the 1862 law had run its course, and they were faced with a Government which showed that it intended either to break or to bend them. What would a strong character like Brigham Young have done in the circumstances? He had led the van of the rebellious group and had married wives after the 1862 Act was passed. Would he have surrendered? It is hardly possible;

but, at any rate, he would never have adopted the half-hearted attitute of President Woodruff.

At the same time, one may not blame Wilford Woodruff too much. He was a gentle old soul; simple and honest, and anxious to be "friendly" with his opponents. He had no sourness in his character, no intemperate bitterness in his speech. He believed in polygamy and in the other fantastic doctrines of the Church with the faith of a child. But the affairs of the Church were being carried out of his hands by the uncontrollable flood of events which might have crushed any organisation. When he took office the situation of Mormonism was desperate. Every Saint of prominence was either in prison or in exile, afraid to show his face. Families had been broken up; and not a few plural wives had fled to the mountains so that their husbands might escape the arm of the law. Such was the pass to which Mormonism had been brought when Wilford Woodruff issued his famous manifesto "abolishing" polygamy. The circumstances which led to that manifesto being issued, and the famous meeting at which it was issued, have hitherto remained practically a closed book, except to a few immediately concerned. They are a closed book no longer.

Joseph F. Smith was at this time, like his fellow officials, in the "underground"—that is, in hiding—when the prosecutions were in full swing. His place of hiding was the President's office, next the Beehive House, and there he was known as "Brother Mack."

George Q. Cannon was also in hiding. He was one of the greatest of the Mormon leaders. An Englishman, well educated, an orator, and a writer of considerable power, he had given his life to the propagation of the faith. He had been to England, California, the Hawaiian Islands, and elsewhere as a missionary, and Dickens, who met him, mentioned him in *An Uncommercial Traveller*. In 1888 he pleaded guilty in Salt Lake Court to two indictments charging him with "unlawful cohabitation," and was fined 450 dollars and sentenced to 175 days in prison.

Among others found guilty and sentenced for similar offences was Francis M. Lyman, who is to-day president of the Twelve Apostles, and may become next President of the Church.

Frank J. Cannon, ex-Senator for Utah, and son of George Q. Cannon, who afterwards broke away from the Church, states in his book *Under the Prophet in Utah* that while he was in Washington at this time trying, on behalf of the Church, to effect a settlement of the situation, which had become unendurable, he heard that his father was in the city. He visited him, and, after detailing the interviews he had with the Government officials, concluded with the statement that he was convinced that the Government was willing to stay its hand for the moment, but Utah must put itself in line with the other States, and that the contemplated measures would be withheld if the Mormons met the Government half-way. In a word, Washington insisted that the Church should surrender the practice of polygamy, but left the Church to find a way out with what dignity it could; otherwise it would be crushed. On hearing his son's report, George Q. Cannon said, significantly, that President Woodruff had been praying and that "something would be done."

That "something" was the manifesto. It was read by President Woodruff on September 24th, 1890, to a meeting of the Church authorities in the offices of the Presidency. Here is the famous document exactly as it was read:

OFFICIAL DECLARATION.

To Whom it May Concern:

Press dispatches having been sent for political purposes, from Salt Lake City, which have been widely published, to the effect that the Utah Commission, in their recent report to the Secretary of the Interior, allege that plural marriages are still being solemnised and that forty or more

> such marriages have been contracted in Utah since last June or during the past year, also that in public discourses the leaders of the Church have taught, encouraged, and urged the continuance of the practice of polygamy,
>
> I, therefore, as president of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter-day Saints, do hereby, in the most solemn manner, declare that these charges are false. We are not teaching polygamy or plural marriage, nor permitting any person to enter into its practice, and I deny that either forty or any other number of plural marriages have during that period been solemnised in our temples or in any other place in the Territory.
>
> One case has been reported, in which the parties allege that the marriage was performed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, in the spring of 1889, but I have not been able to learn who performed the ceremony; whatever was done in this matter was without my knowledge. In consequence of this alleged occurrence the Endowment House was, by my instructions, taken down without delay.
>
> Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to have them do likewise.
>
> There is nothing in my teachings to the Church or in those of my associates, during the time specified, which can be reasonably construed to inculcate or encourage polygamy, and when any Elder of the Church has used language which appeared to convey any such teaching, he has been promptly reproved. And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.
>
> Wilford Woodruff,
> President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Mild though this document was, having no appearance of being a Divine " revelation " in its phraseology, and little authority in its pronouncement, it fell on the company like a bombshell. It may be that those men —all of them believing in Joseph Smith's original " revelation," and all having suffered for their belief—

had expected something more defiant or more authoritative. They may have expected too much or too little, but for some time after the reading there was a dead calm. Then, as the importance of what they had just heard impressed itself on their minds, they turned to the " prophet, seer, and revelator."

Joseph F. Smith, among others, asked whether the manifesto meant a stoppage of plural marriages.

President Woodruff replied in the affirmative.

They asked if it meant that they were no longer to live with their plural wives.

President Woodruff replied that it did; that it was " the will of the Lord."

Then faces which had flushed at the first reading of the announcement became pale, and one after another they rose in that little room and protested—some with tears, and all labouring under the strain of suppressed excitement—saying that they would suffer the " persecution of death " rather than violate their marriage vows to their plural wives. They refused to sacrifice the women and children.

Joseph F. Smith, in an impassioned speech, at first openly defied the manifesto, but finally, seeing the hopelessness of his attitude, sank with a sob into his chair, declaring that he would abide by the announcement.

In this manner was the manifesto " abolishing " polygamy received by the leaders of the Church which had accepted the doctrine as a revelation from God.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE BETRAYAL OF UTAH

In spite of his efforts to invest the manifesto with some sort of authority, President Woodruff seems to have hesitated not a little before he issued the document. It is on record that he asked the advice of at least one of his helpers whether the people were likely to accept and support it, and it was only after being assured on this point that he put forward the message with the statement that he "had sought the Lord in broken and contrite spirit, and the Holy Spirit had revealed to him" that it was necessary the Church should give up the doctrine of polygamy.

The manifesto was ratified by a general conference of the Mormon Church held on October 6th, 1890. The Government accepted the Mormons' word that they wished to abolish polygamy, and on October 25th, 1893, an Act was passed to restore the Church's property; but it was specifically stipulated that no money was to be used for the support of any buildings in which "the rightfulness of the practice of polygamy" was taught. The following year, on July 10th, Congress passed, and on the 16th of the same month President Cleveland at Washington approved, the Enabling Act, empowering "the people of Utah to form a Constitution and State Government, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States." But, possibly to test the sincerity of the Mormon protestations, the actual admission into Statehood was postponed for nearly two years.

In March, 1895, a Convention of 107 delegates met at Salt Lake City, and began the work of adopting a Constitution for the State of Utah. The Convention was opened by George Q. Cannon, owing to the indisposition of President Woodruff, and after sixty days the present Constitution was adopted. This Constitution provided that

> Polygamy or plural marriages were for ever prohibited;
> Territorial laws against polygamy were to remain in force;
> There should be no "union of Church and State";
> No Church should "dominate the State or interfere with its functions."

It will be shown hereafter that the Mormon leaders have not kept their word, given so solemnly, and that polygamous marriages have taken place after their vow to abolish them; that such unions may still take place in Utah; and that the Church does "dominate and interfere with the State's functions."

On January 6th, 1896, Utah began her career of Statehood, and was henceforth represented on the national flag by a star. Heber M. Wells was chosen Governor.

Congress dealt magnanimously with the new State, and not the least of the Government's provisions was an Act legitimatising every child born in polygamous marriages before January, 1906. About 10,000 children were thus rescued from the stigma of illegitimacy, and placed in the position of having a right to share the legal inheritance of their fathers.

And now to relate the betrayal of Utah—a story so confusing to outsiders unacquainted with American politics, so complicated even to those who understand these politics, so full of hair-splitting chicanery and subtle priestly diplomacy, that one may well be excused for hesitating before beginning to tell it at all. But it is necessary that it should be told, however briefly, for only a knowledge of the general facts makes it possible to appreciate the present position of the Church of Latter-day Saints.

The first breath of suspicion that the leaders did not intend to throw over polygamy arose when President Woodruff, shortly after the honour of Statehood had been conferred on Utah, stated in a sermon in Salt Lake City that " the priesthood of God had the right to rule in all things on earth." Throughout the city the non-Mormons read danger into the announcement.

The second step in the great betrayal came to light when Abraham H. Cannon, an Apostle, and son of George Q. Cannon, died in July, 1896. It was then revealed that a few weeks before his death—while the Bill restoring the Church's property in return for its pledge that plural marriages were abolished had only just been printed—the Apostle had taken a plural wife, Lillian Hamlin. His death saved the Church from a calamity which it could ill have faced, but it sent a shudder of fear through the honest Mormons and non-Mormons alike. They knew that there was bound to be trouble ahead, and this fear was intensified when it was stated by George Q. Cannon, the father of the deceased, that Joseph F. Smith had obtained the acquiescence of President Woodruff to the ceremony on the plea that it was not an ordinary case of polygamy, but " merely the fulfilment of the biblical instruction that a man should take his dead brother's wife "—Lillian Hamlin had been betrothed to Abraham's brother David—" and that Joseph F. Smith had performed the ceremony."

Now, even if this first polygamous marriage had been the last, it might have been forgiven. But it was not the last. It was the first of a series, which grew in number until the whole of the United States was roused to fury. It was the beginning of a policy which has resulted in the leaders of the Saints being accused of treachery, of defiance to the Government, of perjury, subornation, and political tyranny, all practised to obscure the hidden polygamy which still exists in Utah to-day.

A bitter fight between Joseph F. Smith and Frank J. Cannon, ex-Senator for Utah, and brother of Abraham, now broke out, though it had smouldered for some time before this event; and the latter publicly charged Smith—who never dared to deny the "divinity" of the original "revelation" of the original prophet—with "betraying my brother into polygamy, . . . actuated by his anger against my father for having inspired the recession from the doctrine; that he desired to impair the success of the recession by having my brother dignify the recrudescence of polygamy by the apostolic sanction of his participation; and that this participation was jealously designed by Smith to avenge himself upon the First Councillor" (Cannon's father) "by having the son be one of the first to break the law and violate the covenant."

Cannon also charged that Smith, during a private meeting of the Church authorities in the Temple a little later, made a violent Republican speech, declaring that he (Cannon) had humiliated the Church by using his influence in favour of the Democrats. Other leaders spoke at the same meeting in the same strain, and Cannon made his defence, pointing out that it was not within the right of any ecclesiastical body to direct his political actions; and though in the following elections there was some attempt by the Church to influence the people, the Democrats swept the poll.

It is also stated by Cannon that when he was electioneering in Idaho for Senator F. T. Dubois he was followed through the Mormon settlements by Apostle Charles W. Penrose (whose name is well known in England, and especially in Lancashire, where he headed the European mission of the Mormons until a few years ago), who attempted to undo his political work. And Cannon describes Penrose as an "oily, lying hypocrite."

The reader will see, without further incursion into American politics, in what direction events were tending. The leaders of the Mormons, who had given their solemn word not to interfere in politics, were slowly but surely seeking a return to that power which Brigham Young exercised before the advance of civilisation broke down the Chinese wall he had built around his community. In the midst of this confusion, which was not, of course, apparent to the outside world, President Woodruff died at San Francisco on September 2nd, 1898, at the advanced age of ninety-one years, when on a visit there for health reasons. His remains were brought to Salt Lake in a special train, and special services were held on September 8th in the Tabernacle. He was buried in Salt Lake City cemetery.

The Twelve Apostles chose Lorenzo Snow as successor to the leadership eleven days after Wilford Woodruff's death. The new prophet took as his Councillors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, these three constituting the office known in the Church as the First Presidency, each member being given the title of "President."

President Snow's chief ambition seems to have been to go down to posterity as a financier. A plan had been put forward by Church officials to deal with the Church's finances; but Snow declined to accept it, as it meant surrendering some of his authority, and he held that the best results had hitherto been obtained by "keeping the power in the hands of the prophet." Here was another symptom of the fear of the hierarchy that their power would slip out of their hands. It was apparent to those who watched events keenly that it was only a matter of progress, and the Church would again have full political, commercial, and social power; and that trend has continued, potent, if unseen.

In September, 1898, President Snow authorised—there can be little doubt on the point—the candidature of Brigham H. Roberts for Congress on the Democratic ticket, and Roberts was a polygamist, who, two years earlier, had been threatened with excommunication because he opposed the Church's political views; but he had since become docile. Roberts was elected, but was excluded from the House of Representatives because he was a polygamist. A. W. McCune came forward as a candidate for the United States Senatorship. Though not a Mormon, he was rich, and had wide Mormon connections, having given large sums to the institutions of the Church. He had been a citizen of Utah, but had made his fortune in Montana; and letters which appeared in the newspapers early in 1899 from Apostle H. J. Grant, indicate that he (Grant) had been asked by President Snow to give the seat over to McCune.

About this time stories against the character of Frank J. Cannon began to circulate, and he was asked to withdraw from the Senatorial contest on grounds of "gross misconduct." These stories Cannon denied, and, in a fine state of indignation, he hired Salt Lake theatre on February 9th, 1899, and delivered a scathing address to the crowded house on "Senatorial Candidates and Pharisees." President Snow was present, as were also several of the Apostles, all of whom heard Cannon's passionate appeal to the people to "prevent the sale of Utah's Senatorship to McCune by the Church reactionaries." This action sealed Cannon's fate so far as the Church was concerned; but it brought about a deadlock in the campaign, and finally, on the last day of the legislative session, Cannon's father was, by President Snow's instructions, put forward as candidate. But at the final ballot not one of the candidates had sufficient votes and no senator was elected.

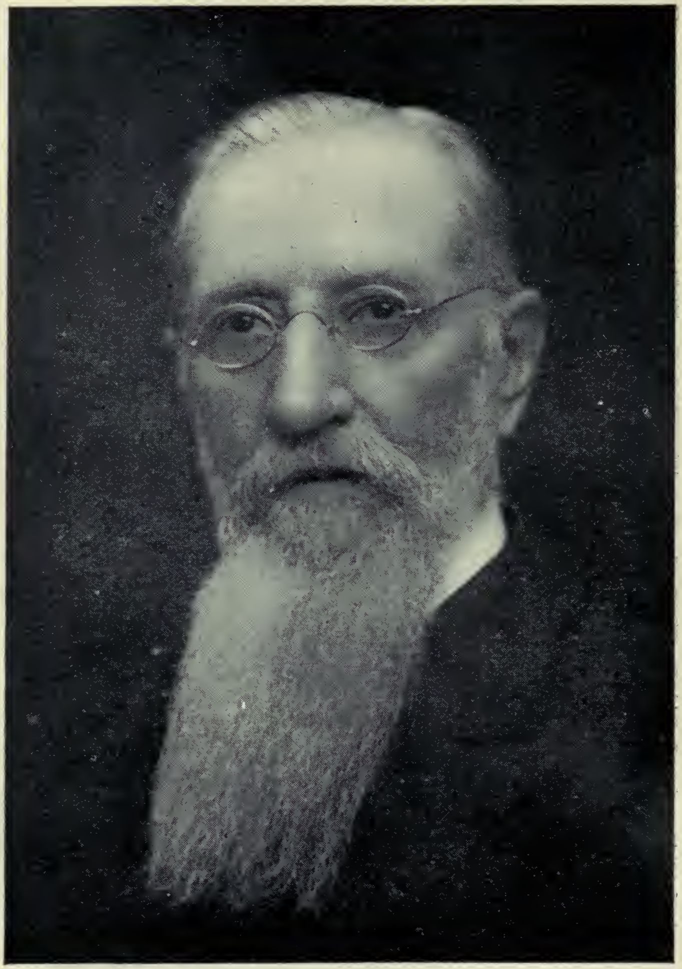
It had been a wild, anxious time for both sides; but it taught the Mormons a lesson which they never forgot, and never afterwards were they without plans for their candidate. The present Senator, Reed Smoot, is an Apostle of the Church, the story of whose election and the subsequent upheaval in political circles, ending in the investigation by a Select Committee into charges against the Church, will be told in another chapter.

President Cannon did not again appear much in public life. In the autumn of 1900 he took a trip to the Sandwich Islands with the double object of aiding in the missionary jubilee effort there and recuperating his health; but when he returned he died at Monterey, California. He was one of the strongest men in the Mormon organisation. A native of Liverpool—his parents came from the Isle of Man—he joined Mormonism in 1840. His father and mother in 1842 left Liverpool to join their son's Church, but Mrs. Cannon died on the voyage, and was buried at sea. The father died two years later at St. Louis.

Had George Q. Cannon lived to survive President Snow, there is little doubt that he would have been head of the Church. His death made the path to that office clear for the other Councillor, Joseph F. Smith, and when Lorenzo Snow died in 1901 he came into the position automatically.

The material " progress " of Utah was very considerable during Snow's presidency. He did much to revive the observance of the Mormon law of tithing, and by this means drew in such a large sum that most of the debts of the Church were paid. During his " reign " also the Mormon University was established, besides the Brigham Young Memorial Building and the Barratt Hall. The Beehive House was made the official residence of the President. The Tabernacle organ was remodelled. The Church printing was taken from private firms and given to a Church printing-office; and the *Deseret News* was made the official Church organ, though it had long been semi-officially recognised as such.

And now, under the presidency of Joseph F. Smith, the Church developed an even more vigorous life, for he had much of the spirit of his relative who founded the movement, and his election brought into prominence once again in Utah the magic name of the first " prophet and seer."



Joseph Fielding Smith,
Late President of the Mormon Church, died November 19th, 1918, aged 80 years and 6 days. He had five wives and 42 children.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE VICTORY OF THE CHURCH

JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH, the sixth President of the Church, knew more about the history, both secret and public, of the organisation than perhaps any other man among the Saints. His life had been spent in their midst, always in close touch with the rulers, yet always prepared to work with the workers. A son of Hyrum Smith, the brother of the "Prophet Joseph," he was born at Far West, Missouri, on November 13th, 1838. He never forgot the tragic deaths of his father and his uncle in Carthage gaol, and his life of hardship in the early days and his subsequent training under the sway of Brigham Young in Utah left their imprint upon him.

He was a driver of an ox-team in the Missouri exodus of 1846 to Winter Quarters, on the Mississippi river. When the trek across the plains was engineered, he was again an ox-team driver, entering Salt Lake Valley in 1848. From that time till 1854 he worked as a manual labourer. The next four years were spent in missionary work in the Sandwich Islands; then he returned to Utah, and was given the post of Sergeant-at-Arms in the Utah Legislature until 1859. Three times he was a missionary to Great Britain, at one time presiding over the mission and editing the *Millennial Star*, which was, and still is, published in Liverpool.

He presided over the Constitutional Convention which in 1882 framed the Constitution for the State of Utah and petitioned Congress for admission to Statehood. He was president of the Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institution, the State Bank of Utah, Zion's Savings Banks and Trust Company, the Utah Sugar Company, the Consolidated Waggon and Machine Company, and a large number of other enterprises, some of which were handed down to him in trust for the Church by his predecessors.

This prophet had five wives, two of them sisters, all of whom lived in different houses in Salt Lake City ; and he repeatedly stated that he was willing to face any action the Federal authorities might bring against him rather than cease cohabitating with them—and this in spite of his assurance that he would submit to the provisions of the manifesto of 1890.

The climax of what non-Mormons call the Mormon conspiracy to retain its political power, despite its pledge to the contrary, came about in the 1902 State elections, when it was rumoured that Apostle Reed Smoot, backed by the Church, was to be put forward as the Republican candidate. The rumours were soon proved to be true, and in 1903 Smoot was elected, no other name having been mentioned.

Smoot was then just over forty years of age. He was, and is, one of the richest men in Utah, a banker and manufacturer, besides owning large estates. Never did an election cause more excitement throughout the United States. President Smith declared that it was not true that Smoot had been put forward by the Church, and " he had the same right that any American citizen enjoyed to accept any office to which his fellow citizens may elect him." Smith also denied that any polygamous marriages were sanctioned by the Church, and stated that no new ones had been solemnised since the manifesto of 1890.

A few days after the election of Smoot, on February 10th, a protest against his election was sent by representative citizens of Utah to President Roosevelt and the Senate at Washington, on the grounds :

> That Smoot was an Apostle of the Mormon Church bound by the rules thereof, and as such should not represent Utah in the Senate.

> That the Mormon priesthood claimed supreme authority in politics, and this authority was exercised by President Smith and the Twelve Apostles, of whom Smoot was one.
>
> That they had not abandoned the practice of polygamy and polygamous cohabitation.
>
> That they connived at its practice, and sought to pass laws which would nullify the statutes against polygamy, and they protected the violaters of these statutes.
>
> That they had done these things in violation of the pledges given to procure amnesty and the return of the Church's escheated property.

When the protest was filed, a storm of indignation swept over the Church headquarters and throughout Mormondom. An inquiry, it was announced, would be held by a Senate Committee ; but it did not sit for a year afterwards, and in the interval the Mormons became busy. In order to fight the protestants, they began to bring influence to bear on Congressmen and Senators at Washington. Business interests—and these were formidable—were enlisted in the great struggle, and pressure was brought to bear in every possible quarter. There is no doubt of this. Ample proof is to be had that the Mormon headquarters left no stone unturned to defeat their opponents and nullify the protest. It is impossible here to go over every detail of that gigantic campaign, for it was conducted, for the most part under the surface ; but certain details are available. Mercantile interests which had business relations with the Church were asked to write letters to politicians in the effort to check the crusade against the Mormons. No threats were made, but the penalty of refusal was plain. Business houses cannot afford to quarrel with their best customers.

The inquiry began March 3rd, 1904, and the evidence came as a revelation to the whole country. Joseph F. Smith, who had pledged himself to abide by the Woodruff manifesto, admitted, during a long examination, that he had had eleven children by his five wives since that date.

Apostle Francis M. Lyman also admitted that he was a polygamist. He was severely handled by the Committee for his statement that if he received a revelation from God and the people rejected it, the Church " would follow the wish of the people."

Apostles John Henry Smith and Charles W. Penrose (the latter is now a Councillor to President Grant) both admitted that they were polygamists. Brigham H. Roberts and George Reynolds, also high officials, made similar confessions. There were also others who were forced to admit that they were violating, and knew that they were violating, the law.

It was brought out that there had been new polygamous marriages. Charles E, Merrill, a Bishop, gave evidence that his father had married him to a plural wife in 1891, and he had been living with his two wives ever since. Mrs. Clara Kennedy told how she had been married at Juarez, Mexico, in 1896, to a polygamist—and the priest who officiated was Apostle Brigham Young, junior. Apostle George Teasdale had been married polygamously in 1896.

Benjamin Cluff, junior, a president of the Church University, also admitted the same thing ; so also did ten others, including J. M. Tanner, the superintendent of the Church schools, Apostle M. F. Cowley, and Apostle J. W. Taylor. The latter had taken two wives, and both had fled to the country to escape a summons to appear before the Committee.

Some remarkable testimony was given by President Smith as he sat for nearly four days facing the Committee. Here are some of the questions asked and the answers he gave :

> *Question* : You say there is a State law forbidding polygamous cohabitation, and you have been continuing to violate it in utter disregard of the consequences ?
>
> *Answer* : I think I have.
>
> *Question* : Why have you done so ?
>
> *Answer* : I preferred to face the law. I could not disgrace myself. I could not degrade my family.

> *Question*: You have five wives now?
>
> *Answer*: That is correct.
>
> *Question*: How many children have you had since the manifesto of 1890?
>
> *Answer*: Eleven since 1890. Each of my wives has borne me children.

In answer to questions concerning "revelations," President Smith said he did not always obey "revelations" from God. "One can obey or disobey with impunity," he said.

If the principle of plural marriage were attacked, he said, *the Church would defend it.* He admitted that as late as 1903 he made a speech in which he contended that the doctrine of plural marriage was a revelation from God, and *to reject that would be equivalent to rejection of the Diety Himself.* He had avoided teaching polygamy, but the manifesto had not in any manner changed his convictions on the question of plural marriage; and he stated that the matter of a husband getting his wife's consent to take a plural wife might as well be eliminated from the original revelation. Answering a question whether he had objected to Reed Smoot becoming a candidate for the Senate, he replied: "I gave my consent to his becoming a candidate."

> *Question*: Why did you think your consent necessary?
>
> *Answer*: Because it is a rule that any one of the general authorities of the Church desiring to engage in any business outside of his Church duties must get the consent of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles before he can do so.

"If the officers of the law have not done their duty toward me," he declared at another point, "I cannot blame them. I think they have some respect for me."

Whether it was "respect" that kept the law officers from prosecuting him was shown by other testimony.

Witnesses stated that during the anti-polygamy agitation of 1899, when Congress refused to give a seat to Brigham H. Roberts, several prosecutions had been attempted, but in not a few cases the County Attorney had refused to prosecute. In other cases where prosecutions had taken place the sentences were only small fines, which made the proceedings a farce.

In Box Elder County a subscription list had actually been opened to pay such fines; but, though the subscriptions had been collected, the fines were never paid, and finally all the prosecutions had been dropped in disgust and despair. And the reason for this unusual state of affairs was that the Church could, by its influence, elect practically whoever was pleasing to headquarters to the positions of law officers.

In proof of the Church's political power, it was testified that in 1896 the authorities had appointed a committee of six Elders to examine all Bills introduced into the Utah Legislature and decide which were "proper."

In Idaho in 1894 the Legislature had passed without discussion a resolution for a new State Constitution which would not include the anti-polygamy test oath; that the State chairman of both political parties generally sent to Salt Lake City before a campaign to consult on matters political, and the requests of the Church leaders were usually granted; that it was "impossible for any man or party to go against the Mormons in Idaho," the population of which was one-third Mormon.

But there was much more evidence of the same kind. It was sworn that during a dispute in Brigham City between the City Council and an electric lighting company the local Mormon officials interfered, and the case was settled. In the same town the proprietors of a pleasure pavilion which competed with the Mormon Opera House were "counselled" to remove the pavilion, for if they did not do so they would be dropped from the Church membership. An agreement was ultimately reached whereby the Church received twenty-five per cent of the net earnings of the pavilion. A Mormon had been expelled from the Church because he had engaged in the business of manufacturing salt against the Church's enterprise in the same direction.

Many other cases were cited and sworn to showing that the Church *did* interfere in business and in politics; and it was shown that President Smith was at that moment president of the following institutions and commercial undertakings:

ZION CO-OPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION.
STATE BANK OF UTAH.
ZION'S SAVINGS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY.
UTAH SUGAR COMPANY.
CONSOLIDATED WAGGON AND MACHINE COMPANY.
UTAH LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY.
SALT LAKE AND LOS ANGELOS RAILROAD COMPANY.
IDAHO SUGAR COMPANY.
SALTAIR BEACH COMPANY.
INLAND CRYSTAL SALT COMPANY.
SALT LAKE KNITTING COMPANY.
SALT LAKE DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION.

He was also a director of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, vice-president of the Bullion-Beck and Champion Mining Company, and editor of several Mormon publications.

The list of accusations against the Saints could be continued; but enough has been written to illustrate the gravity of the admissions made by the leaders, the proof of the charges against the Church, and the power which that organisation could easily have wielded, and did wield, in the West. The Committee considered the evidence it had heard, and on June 11th, 1906, two reports, a majority and a minority, were issued giving their findings.

The conclusions of the majority report were that Reed Smoot was not entitled to a seat in the Senate, as he was a member of a "self-perpetuating body of fifteen, uniting in themselves authority in both Church and State, . . . so exercising this authority as to encourage a belief in polygamy as a Divine institution and by both precept and example encourage among their followers the practice of polygamy and polygamous cohabitation."

The report also found that the Church authorities had "endeavoured to suppress, and succeeded in suppressing, a great deal of testimony by which the fact of plural marriages contracted by those who were high in the councils of the Church might have been established beyond the shadow of a doubt." Further, that it had been shown by testimony "that the majority of those who give law to the Mormon Church are now, and have been for years, living in open, notorious, and shameless polygamous cohabitation."

The majority also held in their report that President Woodruff's manifesto "in no way declared the principle of polygamy to be wrong or abrogates it as a doctrine of the Mormon Church, but simply suspends the practice of polygamy to be resumed at some more convenient season." . . . Apostle Smoot was responsible for the conduct of the organisation, and encouraged and countenanced polygamy "by repeated acts, and in a number of instances as a member of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles."

It was held that the First Presidency and the Apostles exercised a controlling influence over members of the Church in secular affairs as well as religious ones, but it was in political affairs that the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles were most efficacious and most injurious to the interests of the State. The report continued:

"Notwithstanding the plain provision of the Constitution of Utah, the proof offered on the investigation demonstrates beyond the possibility of doubt that the hierarchy at the head of the Mormon Church has, for years past, formed a perfect union between the Mormon Church and the State of Utah, and that the Church, through its head, dominates the affairs of the State in things both great and small. . . . The said Reed Smoot comes here, not as the accredited representative of the State of Utah in the Senate of the United States, but as the choice of the hierarchy which controls the Church and has usurped the functions of the State of Utah. It follows, as a necessary conclusion from these facts, that Mr. Smoot is not entitled to a seat in the Senate as a Senator from the State of Utah."

The minority report, signed by five Senators, took the diametrically opposite view. They held that Reed Smoot had "all the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution to make him eligible for the seat." They stated that, in their view, the regularity of his election by the Utah Legislature had not been questioned. They said that his private character was irreproachable (nobody suggested that it was otherwise), and that, "so far as mere belief and membership in the Mormon Church are concerned, he is fully within his rights and privileges under the guarantee of religious freedom given by the Constitution of the United States."

There were, the report continued, only two grounds on which the right of Reed Smoot to take a seat in the Senate was questioned. The first was, whether he had taken the endowment oath, thereby "obligating himself to make his allegiance to the Church paramount to his allegiance to the United States." The second was, whether, because of his official relation to the Church, he had responsibility for polygamous cohabitation.

The minority found that the testimony as regarded the first charge was "limited, vague, and indefinite in character." As regards the second charge, it was stated that Smoot had denied that he had "ever advised any person to violate the law either against polygamy or against polygamous cohabitation." No witness had been able to produce testimony that Smoot had ever given such advice; and, though it was admitted that Smoot had "silently acquiesced" in the continuance of polygamous cohabitation, it was pointed out that to understand this attitude it was "necessary to recall some historical facts, among which are some that indicate that the United States Government is not free from responsibility for these violations of the law."

Such was the amazing reasoning of the minority report. From the moment that these two reports were issued the whole country was torn with discussions as to whether Mormonism was what it claimed to be, or what its opponents said it was. Though he denied it later, President Roosevelt was stated to have given his support to Smoot, and for a year the discussions and arguments for and against the Saints waxed fast and furious all over the land. On February 15th Senator Tillman accused President Roosevelt of protecting Smoot in return for a pledge of Mormon support, and a few days later Smoot made a statement that cases of polygamy were rare, and were condemned by the Church, and that he personally was opposed to polygamy. The question was put to a vote on February 15th after a debate, and the result of that vote was, counting in pairs, fifty-one in favour of Smoot retaining his seat, and thirty-seven against.

The result was received with great jubilation in Utah.

Since that famous fight the antagonism between Mormonism and the Gentiles has been simmering; but it is ready to burst out again whenever the occasion for such an outburst arises. That occasion may be here sooner than some think, for events are shaping once again towards a great trial of strength, and it may come from a quarter entirely unexpected. The truth is that for some time after the Smoot affair non-Mormons became discouraged, and rather despaired of impressing the facts on officialdom.

A few years ago, when " President " Charles W. Penrose was in Liverpool, heading the Mormon mission in Europe, an anti-Mormon campaign, engineered by the London *Daily Express* and Mr. Hans P. Freece, of New York, thrilled the country, and almost succeeded in causing the Mormon missionaries to be expelled from

Joseph F. Smith, the late President of the Mormon Church,
who had five wives, with 35 of his 42 children.

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Britain. But here again officialism either could not or would not recognise the actual danger of Mormonism, mainly, it is believed, because of the Mormon protest that polygamy was no longer part of their creed. It was with this and other facts in view that the author made a thorough investigation of the conditions during his last recent tour through Utah ; and it is as well here to answer the question generally put by those who do not know the situation as it is in the Mormon Zion : " Do polygamous marriages really take place ? " The answer is : " Yes, they may take place unofficially ; 'officially' they do not." It is an answer that calls for explanation.

In the old days there was no attempt to deny polygamy. The marriages were believed to be sanctified, and families were " wives and children of the holy covenant." About the time that Wilford Woodruff's manifesto was issued most of the younger men were against polygamy ; the inclination to continue the practice was most apparent among the leaders. But the pressure of the United States Government, and the agitation throughout America and the world, stifled the hopes of the latter, whose attitude was becoming one of open defiance. The Smoot investigation reopened the whole of the dark business and showed the new polygamy in all its terrible nakedness. It is true that in 1904 Joseph F. Smith officially announced that anyone entering into polygamous marriages would be excommunicated, and this declaration was delivered to Washington as proof that the Church had washed its hands of the doctrine ; but the Church has not yet done anything of the kind. It has stopped issuing plural marriage certificates, but if President Smith had cared he could have found ample opportunity for putting that threat into operation even when he issued it.

Upon several occasions Church leaders have proclaimed the doctrine as sacred. There has never been a sermon preached against polygamy in a Mormon tabernacle or meeting-house. To preach against polygamy would be to attack one of the main articles of the faith. The original "revelation" of the "Prophet Joseph" still stands in the official book, *Doctrine and Covenants,* and in many editions the Manifesto of 1890 is not in the book at all. Where it is inserted it is relegated to a back page, and printed as a sort of afterthought or appendix.

The best answer to the Mormon contention is to be found in the fact that a few years ago the *Salt Lake Tribune* published at various times a list of over 200 "new polygamy" marriages, with the dates and the circumstances. The author discovered in 1906 a case at Provo in which a man named Buckholt was living within a stone's throw of the County Sheriff's office with two wives. His case is in some ways typical of others, and serves to show how the new polygamists evade the law; for that reason the circumstances may be given here at greater length than they would otherwise warrant.

Buckholt went to Denmark eight years previously as a Church missionary. At that time he had a wife and children. He owned his home, and, in order to comply with the order to go on the mission tour, he mortgaged his house, and went off alone. When he returned from Denmark he brought back with him a young Danish maiden, who became a member of his household. It was stated at the time that she was going to repay her passage money, lent her by Buckholt, by domestic service. For a time this excuse worked well; but when it became apparent that the girl was about to become a mother the trick was disclosed, and Buckholt and his new wife fled to Mexico. For four years he lived there; but about 1906 he returned to Provo, and with him came the Danish convert and her children. The two wives and the families lived in one house at Provo until the case was exposed in the *Tribune,* which newspaper made the following comment: "It is apparent that the man is trying to cloak his practice with the sanction of the Mormon religion; it is evident that the two women are following the teachings of their Church leaders; and it is evident that the Church authorities lend their approval to this violation of the law, otherwise they would prevent the members of their organisation from flaunting such religious practices in the face of decent people."

When President Taft visited Salt Lake City in 1909, Senator Kearns, one of the proprietors of the *Tribune*, offered to prove hundreds of cases of new polygamy if the President would provide two secret service men to investigate.

Ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon told the author that he believed, "from his own observation, there are more plural wives among the Mormons to-day than there were before 1890." The natural question, of course, is: How is it done? Well, it is done, says Mr. Cannon, by an elaborate "underground" system. The Church does not know of those marriages officially. But there was within recent years an official of the Church, living less than twenty miles from Salt Lake, who had been solemnising plural marriages so actively that the Church was compelled to act owing to the matter having become such a scandal. That was in 1910. It was then discovered that this Apostle could not give the names of all the parties he had married. He sat behind a screen in a room in his home, and the couples made their declarations without seeing him; in some cases they had their faces covered. Another Church official, when questioned by the leaders, refused to give them the name of the higher official who had given him the "power" to solemnise marriages at which he superintended.

Most of these law-breakers live outside the boundary-line of Utah. It is possible for a man to have one wife on the Utah side and others on the Colorado side of the line. Some may go to Canada, or to Mexico, to be married. And so, by thus "evading" the authorities in Salt Lake, the marriage-market goes on. Some of these women, so misguided are they and so willing to save their husbands from the power of the law, have been known to deny their marriage, even though by doing so they proclaim their children illegitimate. This occurred in the well-known case of one of Henry S. Tanner's wives. She went on a visit to her relatives with her children, and actually denied that they were her children or that she was married. And the children were taught to deny that she was their mother!

One wife of a wealthy Mormon swore before the Senate Committee that her first husband had been dead thirteen years, and that she had never been married since, though she had a child of six years of age.

When the author was in Salt Lake last a young lady who occupied a semi-public position told him of a case relating to her companion. "She told me one day," said the lady, "that she was leaving her situation to go into the country for a holiday. Some months later I was told by a friend that she was staying at a farm in the mountains near Salt Lake. I went up there and found her. She was very friendly—and a baby was lying asleep in a cot. I asked her, and she admitted that the child was hers. She had married a man who was already married. When I went back again, she was not there. I have never seen her since."

And the lady who told this story pleaded that her name should never be used or mentioned. Her reason was that if her name was published she might as well go out of Utah. "It's not that I should go in bodily danger," she said, "for things are done differently now. But I would find that my position would soon become unendurable, and I would be forced to resign, or I would be found in some fault and would be dismissed. And if I applied for another position elsewhere, the people would get to know where I had been last; and if they didn't get to know that way, they would get to know another, and then—well, they couldn't afford to take me. You see, Gentiles in this city and throughout the State are tired of the long fight. They don't like quarrels which upset business and divide a city into hostile camps. It's disastrous to business. We've all seen so many quarrels, and we're tired. After all, we've got to live here; our business is here, and our homes are here. We don't relish being martyrs for a Government which won't tackle the question firmly."

Similar pleadings that names should be suppressed were made by others, and examples were given of some who had injudiciously allowed their names to appear as the authors of anti-Mormon statements who soon felt the "pressure." One of these was a man in a Government position who had made a statement to a New York reporter with the reservation that it should be published anonymously. It was published with his name attached, in violation of the pledge given by the reporter. A few days later a Mormon official met him in Main Street, and remarked, with a smile: "It's really wrong of you to say such things about the Saints. You *know* they are not true." Another Church official later made a similar remark. Then another made the same remark. In two months' time there came a note from Washington, and the official was sent to an out-of-the-way district for health reasons.

In 1905 a committee of twelve prominent Gentiles in Salt Lake City drew up a resolution concerning the affairs of Utah, intending to send it to the Government. That resolution charged that "Utah's Statehood, as now administered, is but a protection of the Mormon hierarchy in its establishment of a theocratic kingdom under the flag of the Republic. This hierarchy holds itself superior to the Constitution and to the law. It is spreading polygamy through the ranks of its followers. . . . It is master of the State Legislature and of the Government."

But when it came to the point not one of those twelve, though all believed every word of that resolution, dared to appear in public in support of it. Each knew that he would be committing social and commercial suicide by doing so; and all succumbed to the test. Well, there are few who would have come through.

These considerations must be faced by the outsider who is apt to become impatient and ask why some definite case or cases are not brought forward and dealt with in court. The man who "informs" need never enter Utah for a living, and that is the long and the short of it, unless he has sufficient backing and influence to stand tests which would break the ordinary run of men.

The Government of the United States had it on the testimony of Joseph F. Smith himself at the Reed Smoot investigation that he had been violating the law since the Manifesto of 1890 was published; and they did not proceed against him. He practically dared them to their faces to do it, and they did not accept the challenge.

On October 6th, 1918, just a month before his death, Smith made his final public pronouncement on the subject at the eighty-ninth semi-annual general conference of the Church held in Salt Lake City.

On that occasion the question of plural marriage was again raised, and Charles W. Penrose took occasion to deny, with his usual fiery vehemence, that Church leaders had any knowledge of the contracting of "illegal unions" by Latter-day Saints.

President Smith then rose and said:

> I feel it imperative upon myself to endorse and affirm without recourse the statements that have been made by President Penrose. . . . I want to say to this congregation, and to the world, that never at any time since my Presidency in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have I authorised any man to perform a plural marriage, and never, since my Presidency of the Church, has any plural marriage been performed with my sanction or knowledge, or with the consent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and therefore such unions as have been formed unlawfully and contrary to the order of the Church are null and void in the sight of God, and are not marriages.

And yet, on the witness-stand at Washington both Smith and Penrose defended the principle of polygamy; and both admitted they had plural wives.

Why did not the Washington officials accept the majority report, which accused the Church of still holding this doctrine? Only the politicians know. But if the Government shrinks from tackling the position, one cannot blame individuals who follow the same course.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

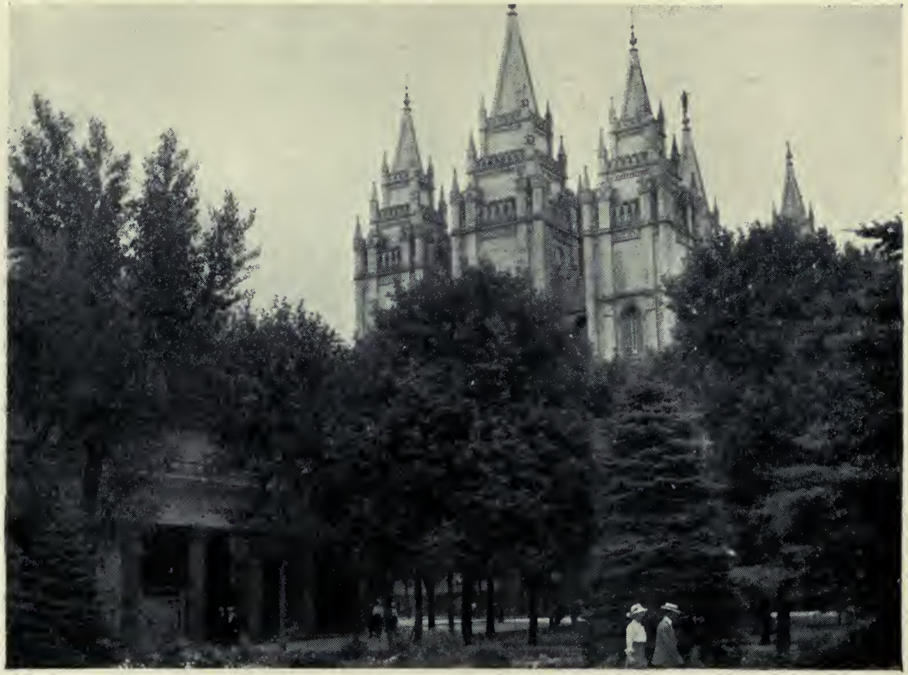
SALT LAKE CITY TO-DAY

In spite of the fact that over 200,000 tourists travel through Utah every summer, few ever get to know the real Utah. And what is true of the State is even more true of Salt Lake City.

We have known people who regarded the journey to the chief city of Utah, the holy city of the Mormons, as a great adventure. The real excitement, believe us, oozes away when you begin to slide down the western side of the backbone of the Rockies. It has entirely or nearly departed by the time you are half-way across the Utah desert; but it revives by the time you are nearing the gates of the city.

The adventure of crossing that arid plain is not nearly so great now as it must have been to the first band of pioneers who trudged over it in the summer of 1847. It is changed from those times. Where Brigham Young struck his staff in the ground there has arisen the most remarkable temple in the world; where their shabby tents flapped in the wind a beautiful city has sprung up. Perhaps the imaginative people are right after all. It *is* a great adventure to enter Salt Lake City.

Tucked away under the very shadow of the Wasatch Mountains, at the end of one of the most fertile valleys of the Far West, is the Zion of the Latter-day Saints. Within easy distance of it America's great Dead Sea lappers lazily, the only duplicate in the world of Palestine's sea of that name. Even the narrow stream that winds across the valley bears the name of Jordan. What



In the Temple Grounds, Temple Block.

On the left is the remarkable Tabernacle, and beyond the trees is the Temple enclosed in a special part of the grounds.

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more could a religious sect wish for? If they cannot go to Palestine, Palestine has come to them, in name at any rate; Palestine enclosed by the Rocky Mountains—how thoroughly American!

Even if there were no Mormon attractions, Salt Lake City would still make an appeal to the tourist. But then, if it had not been for the Mormons, there would not have been any Salt Lake City as we know it. Mormonism dominates the town; in one sense it dominates the whole of Utah. But the main attraction of Salt Lake City is, of course, the great Temple, than which there is none so magnificent or so famous in all Utah. Neither is there any Tabernacle in the world like that which stands next the Temple in the well-kept grounds of Temple Block. This ten-acre square is one of the most interesting ten acres in the whole American continent, and it will bear more than a mere passing notice.

The entire Block is surrounded by a stone and adobe wall well over twelve feet high and three feet thick. On each of the four sides of this wall is a large iron gateway opening into the grounds, which are beautifully kept. The six-pinnacled Temple, with the figure of Moroni, the angel who is supposed to have directed Joseph Smith where to find the gold plates containing the *Book of Mormon* writings, dwarfs all other buildings in the Block.

The few stragglers left of the pioneers who trudged behind Brigham Young tell how, four days after they arrived in Salt Lake Valley, he determined on the site of the Temple, and, striking his staff in the ground, exclaimed, "Here we shall build a Temple!" Every difficulty seems to have been encountered in the work, and it was not until forty years afterwards that the structure was completed. The photographs which the author is able to produce of the building show its individuality in architecture. The fact that it follows no accepted school is held to prove that Brigham Young was inspired when he designed it. Its length is 186½ feet, its width 99 feet, its height at the highest point 222 feet. Above the centre pinnacle of the east centre tower is the figure of Moroni, and lower down, in letters cut deep in the stone, and lined with gold, is the inscription :

Holiness to the Lord.
THE HOUSE OF THE LORD,
Built by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Commenced April 6, 1853.
Completed April 6, 1893.

At its foundation the Temple walls are 16 feet thick ; above the ground they taper from 9 feet to 6 feet thick. All the granite used in the construction was brought from quarries twenty miles distant, and was hauled by teams of oxen. Some of the huge blocks required four yoke of oxen four days to make the journey. At intervals the work was stopped because the people were too poor to continue it, and it was not until 1893 that the final touch was put to the fabric, which cost altogether four million dollars.

When Brigham Young died in 1877 the walls of the Temple were only twenty feet above the ground, but his successors urged the people to go forward in the work, and on April 6th, 1892, the capstone was placed in position amid great rejoicings. A whole day was given over to celebrations ; special services were held, and at a given moment President Woodruff closed an electric circuit on the stand on which the officials stood, and the granite globe descended into position. Then, led by Lorenzo Snow, the crowd of 40,000 people shouted " Hosannas " and waved their handkerchiefs. Within the lower half of the hollow granite globe which forms the topstone were placed a copy of the Bible, the *Book of Mormon*, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, and other books, with photographs of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, and other leaders ; a photograph of the Temple as it then appeared, and an engraved tablet bearing the names of the authorities of the Church. Later in the day the gilded figure of Moroni was hoisted into position.

The dedicatory services took place on April 6th, 1893, exactly a year after the capstone was placed, when, for the first, and last, time, a certain number of non-Mormons were admitted to the interior of the Temple. In that time the Saints had strained every effort to get the interior completed.

An examination of the outside of the structure reveals that several series of stones of emblematical design and significance are placed in the walls. Fifty blocks cut to represent the moon in all its phases are placed on a level with the top of the first row of oval windows. Fifty similar stones representing the sun are on a level with the roof, and over every window and as keystones to the doors are star-stones. These stones are explained by Mormons as illustrating St. Paul's writing: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead."

The interior of the Temple, into which visitors are never allowed now, is divided into a number of large and smaller rooms for the performance of baptismal ceremonies, baptism for the dead, "sealing" for the dead and for the living, marriage and other ceremonies; while there are special apartments for the use of the Order of Seventy, the President and his Councillors and others of lesser importance. But, though non-Mormons—and also all Mormons except those in "good standing"—are denied entrance, the author is here able to give a detailed description of the apartments.

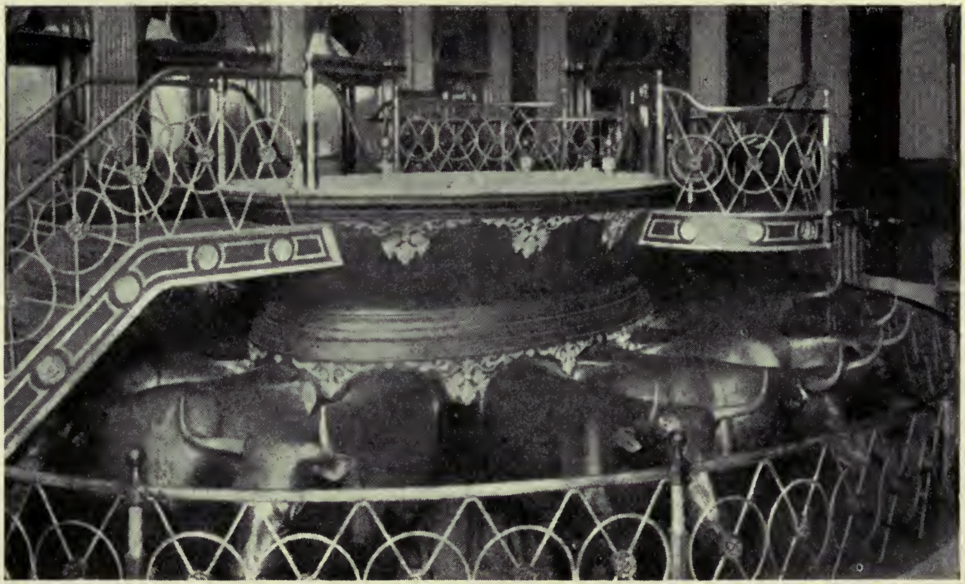
On many of the walls of the corridors and rooms are hung large oil-paintings, mostly dealing with scriptural subjects, or with the "Prophet Joseph." Though there are four doors to the Temple, the entrance most used is by the annex, a detached building divided from the Temple by heavy doors. A stairway in the annex leads to the basement, where there is a subterranean passage, 90 feet long, running to the Temple. It is lighted by three cupolas in the roof, and a doorway at the end opens into the lower corridor of the Temple, which is 12 feet wide. Its floor is richly carpeted, and the walls are beautifully finished. Leading off the corridor is the Baptismal Room.

It is a beautiful apartment, about 40 feet long, with a floor of white marble. Round the walls are a great number of doors, half glass, and the only natural light in the room is "borrowed" from outer windows. But the main thing that attracts the eye is the large font in the centre of the apartment. Here all baptisms "for the dead" take place.

The font is of iron, enamelled white; it is four feet deep, and can hold 400 gallons of water. The well, several feet under the floor level, is circular, and is tiled with marble; but the font itself is raised from the floor by a flight of steps. Up these the candidate goes, dressed in garments suitable for the immersion, and, after being immersed, walks out at the other end down another flight of steps, and so out of the apartment. Recorders sit near the font to take note of the ceremony. The supports of the font are of the strangest kind. They are twelve life-size brazen oxen with silvered horns. Three face eastwards, three westwards, three southwards, and three northwards. The large font rests on the haunches of these animals, which stand slightly below the floor level, and are surrounded by a gilded ornamental rail. The design is based on the description of the font in Solomon's temple mentioned in the Book of Kings. In these baptismal ceremonies women administer to women and men to men, and dressing-rooms are provided for both sexes not far from the Baptismal Room.

On an average about 300 persons go through the Temple weekly, "working for the dead." But the war and a recent influenza epidemic held up this sacrament, and to-day this "work" is a year in arrears; but they are now going through at the rate of 600 a week.

The theology of the Mormons is a little confusing to an outsider. Only a comparatively small percentage of



INTERIOR OF SALT LAKE TEMPLE.
The magnificent Baptismal Font.

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marriages among Mormons take place in the Temple, and those who are married outside are wedded "for this life only." That is to say, those who are married in the Temple are married, according to their belief, for eternity, but all other marriages are cancelled when the parties die. The author asked a leading Mormon why all their marriages were not solemnised in the Temple. "Unfortunately," he replied, "not all our people have the necessary standing in the Church which entitles them to that privilege." Exactly what the required standing is, it is very hard to discover, if, indeed, there is any rule at all about it; but it may have its drawbacks, for if a divorce were wanted after a marriage for eternity had been "sealed," complications would surely arise. As a matter of fact, however, divorces are practically non-existent.

We may pass over the various corridors and lecture-rooms in order to deal with the *Garden of Eden Room*, the *World Room*, the *Terrestrial Room*, the *Celestial Room*, the *Sealing Room for the Dead*, the *Sealing Room for the Living*, and the *Holy of Holies*.

The *Garden of Eden Room* is one of the first the candidate enters during the endowment ceremony. It is an apartment of fair size. The walls and ceiling, which is arched, are beautifully painted to represent Eden. Great clouds stretch across the sky, which is studded also with silver stars. On the walls are woodland scenes, in which birds, beasts, insects, flowers, and trees are reproduced with fine effect. There is a set piece representing the Tree of Knowledge in front and at the side of an elevator upon which the "gods" ascend. The tree seems to be intended for an apple-tree, and there is a small shelf fastened at the back whereon is placed fruit for the "temptation" scene. The whole idea is to impress the candidate with a feeling of repose and calm, and this object is well attained. As in the other rooms, there is seating accommodation for the candidates.

The *World Room*, which is the next stage in the journey, is likewise decorated in accordance with its name. But whereas all was peace in the *Garden of Eden Room,* there is here nothing but strife. Lions are fighting with each other; earthquakes have just occurred, and rocks are split and rent with terrifying effect; birds of prey float over the animal combatants, waiting for their share of the plunder. This is the earth in which man, driven from the Garden of Eden, found himself. The scenes are strongly painted, and are intended to show the ceaseless struggle going on after the Fall.

Out of the *World Room* is a doorway leading to the *Terrestrial Room.* This is a complete change from the other two. The carpet is of rich texture, and light violet in colour. The walls are pale blue, the panelled ceiling and woodwork being white with gold decorations, and there are a number of chairs and settees upholstered to harmonise with the carpet. On the walls are oil-paintings of Scriptural and Mormon subjects. From the ceiling hang three large electroliers. It is here that the Mormon candidates receive special lectures in their pilgrimage through the endowments. But most important of all in this room is a silk portière which hangs from a large arch extending across one end of the room. The portière just touches a platform raised the height of three steps. This portière is the *Veil of the Temple.*

Past the Veil, and on its other side, is the *Celestial Room,* a large apartment—really a small hall—which is lavishly furnished. One side is taken up with the Veil. The floor is richly carpeted, and the furniture, as in the other rooms, harmonises with the general effect. A number of plants, such as palms, etc., are generally kept in this room. Along the walls are columns in pairs, and in the various recesses are portraits of the Church leaders. But for the Veil, which lends an air of mystery to the apartment, the *Celestial Room* might be a large drawing-room in a palace or mansion, and a sense of disappointment is experienced when one remembers that this is supposed to represent the peace of celestial spheres.

The *Sealing Room for the Dead* and the *Sealing Room for the Living* scarcely call for much comment. They are comparatively small, and the furniture is not specially important. In the former room proxies representing dead persons go through the "sealing" ceremonies for those they represent; while in the latter the proxies are married "for time and for eternity." In this room sons and daughters may get their parents "sealed" according to the tenets of Mormonism.

The *Holy of Holies* is also a disappointing room. It is circular in shape, and is situated between the two above mentioned, on a higher level, and is entered by a flight of steps. The decoration is carried out in gold and blue, and the floor is of wood blocks. The walls are panelled, and between each panel are carved pillars. There is an almost entire absence of natural light, the only illumination available being that from a glass-domed roof which penetrates the floor of the room above. But to make up for this is an electrolier and several side clusters of lamps. Opposite the entrance is a stained-glass window representing the visitation of God and Jesus Christ to Joseph Smith, and below is the line:

> This is my beloved Son; hear Him.

These, then, are the main rooms in this massive Temple. The others are mostly rooms for the Council of the Seventy, the Council Room of the Twelve Apostles, the High Council Room, and assembly rooms. All are furnished plainly.

Finally, there are in each of the four corner towers a spiral staircase, each of 177 steps, each step said to be about 1,800 pounds weight.

Of the other buildings in Temple Block, the most famous is the Tabernacle. Erected next the Temple, it is a remarkable building among remarkable buildings. It also was designed by Brigham Young, and, though there is not the slightest attempt at "architecture," its egg-shaped dome has a simplicity most impressive. Elliptic in shape, the Tabernacle is 250 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 80 feet in height. Its holding capacity is between 8,000 and 9,000 persons. The great dome rests on red sandstone buttresses, about 10 feet apart, round the whole building, and these are the only supports for the roof either inside or outside. No nails or iron of any kind were used for the framework, and the whole structure was raised in ten years—1865–1875—before a railroad was laid down in Utah. The roof has now a metallic covering to protect it from the weather. It is in this building that religious services are held. There are no private pews. Those who come early get the best seats. Labourers sit beside wealthy men; employee and employer rub shoulders.

The great organ is at the western end of the Tabernacle, above the seats reserved for the choir and the Mormon leaders, and, though constructed forty years ago by Utah artisans, and composed mostly of native materials, it is one of the finest instruments in America, if not in the world. Recitals are given daily during the summer months for the benefit of visitors, and there is not a sound, from the jingle of a cavalry regiment on the march to the song of a bird, that cannot be reproduced on it. There is no such institution as that of "regular preacher" in the Mormon Church, all services being conducted by members of the sect, who often receive short notice to address the congregation; and it is part of a Mormon's training to be able to expound his doctrine with intelligence and conviction.

Underneath the organ in the Tabernacle is a chapel fitted with a marble font, all in white tile; it is here all ordinary baptisms of converts take place. After this ceremony they usually wait about six months before going through the Temple endowments.

Besides these two important buildings in Temple Block, there are the Assembly Hall, the annex to the Temple, and a bureau for giving information to tourists and inquirers. The information, as is to be expected, confines itself to the achievements of the Church, and never mentions the faults and blunders and crimes of the organisation. The old Endowment House was pulled down long ago. Only recently a fine Sea-gull Monument was erected near the Assembly Hall to commemorate the incident in 1848, already recorded, in which the community was visited by a plague of crickets.

But if Temple Block is the heart of Mormonism, the imprint of the creed is on everything in Salt Lake City. At the top of Main Street, within a stone's throw of the Church headquarters, is the monument to Brigham Young and the pioneers. The statue is a very striking one, and there is hardly any doubt that this man's influence will be felt as long as Salt Lake City lasts. Certainly no President has impressed his personality on the movement as he has done. Besides this statue there are many points with which his name is linked. The Beehive House, now the official residence of the President, was formerly his house, as was also the Lion House, which is separated from the Beehive House by the Presidential offices. In both of these houses Brigham kept several of his wives. But the most imposing of his residences was hardly ever used by him. This is Amelia Palace, otherwise known as Gardo House, situated just opposite Beehive House. This was the house built for and presented to Amelia Folsom, the favourite wife, by Brigham.

Next to the Beehive House, one block east of the monument, is the Eagle Gate. This was at one time erected above the entrance to Young's private grounds; but the stone pillars have now been "modernised," and the eagle has been brightly gilded. Electric lights have been inserted in the beehive on which the eagle stands with extended wings, and when these are lit at night the effect is remarkable.

The old Social Hall which Young built stands behind the east side of State Street, as also does the Salt Lake theatre at the corner of First South Street and State

Street. Finally, his grave is in a private enclosure a short distance from the official Beehive House. It is a spot to which many visitors turn their steps, and here again the note is one of simplicity. The grave is surrounded by a plain iron railing, and the inscription on the flat stone is short, and has no reference to the numerous wives who mourned his loss. In the same plot is the grave of Eliza R. Snow, the poetess, who was first the polygamous wife of Joseph Smith and later the polygamous wife of Young. She returns to Smith in the other world, as Brigham had her "sealed" to him for this life only.

No one can be long in Salt Lake City without observing and being impressed by the remarkable combination of commercial and religious activities which accompanies the growth of the Mormon Church. Founded by Brigham Young, the Zion Co-operative Mercantile Institution is a huge, flourishing store which supplies the faithful with practically all their material wants. It is situated in Main Street, and internally is identical with stores in every American city. Then there is the Mormon bank, the Mormon drug store, the Mormon estate offices; hardly any enterprise is excluded from the category of undertakings which the Church is interested in, and, as might be expected, the Saints are very loyal to the commercial ventures of the Church.

There is no doubt that Salt Lake City is a fine capital to the State. Every street is a boulevard 130 feet wide, and the water fountains on the sidewalks bubble over with the purest cold drinking water imaginable. A really hot day in Salt Lake City is something to remember, for its altitude alone is trying to some people. On dusty days, too, the authorities have adopted the excellent method of some Continental cities for cleansing the gutters. Every gutter is a wide channel, and at intervals a great flood of clear water from the street standards is turned on. Those who have not seen this method of flooding the kerbs cannot fully appreciate its purifying effect and the consequent many advantages to the city.

Sixteen miles due west of the city is the great Salt Lake. There is, of course, the inevitable pavilion with a dancing floor and five-cent side-shows and pop-corn and pea-nut stalls. The main attraction at Saltair, however, is the bathing ; and mixed bathing is the rule. Those who cannot swim need have no fear of entering the water, for it is impossible, or nearly impossible, to drown. The twenty-six per cent of salt which the water contains make it extremely buoyant, and the greatest difficulty is experienced in trying to swim, so dense is the water.

It is wonderfully invigorating, and doctors recommend bathing therein for rheumatism and nervous troubles ; and the author can speak from personal experience that regular bathing in the Salt Lake is more beneficial than any quantity of drugs. On holidays it would seem as if the whole population of the town were bathing. Old men, middle-aged women, even tiny tots who have to be carried, crowd into the lagoons sheltered by the long piers, and disport themselves for hours. Bathers may be seen reading newspapers while balancing themselves on the surface, and not a few actually smoke an occasional cigarette. And when, later, the fresh shower-bath washes the salt from one's limbs, one feels, by the tingle of one's blood, that the Salt Lake of Utah is one of the best tonics one could wish for. It is not surprising that Salt Lake City inhabitants usually enjoy long life.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE ENDOWMENT CEREMONIES

TIME was when outsiders were completely ignorant of the ceremonies performed within the walls of the Mormon temples. That time has passed.

The first few accounts of the "endowment" given to the world were merely guesswork; but gradually, when the number of apostates became considerable, more reliable accounts were circulated. Even then, however, there was much that could not be accepted as accurate; but mostly they agreed that the ceremonies were, at certain stages, of the most disgusting kind. That the Garden of Eden stage in Brigham Young's day was full of indecencies seems to be beyond question. One woman who went through the old Endowment House, built in Temple Block, but since pulled down, states in regard to the Garden of Eden scene:

"The first thing we saw in the centre of the Garden was the 'Devil,' dressed in black muslin, in conversation with 'Eve,' the latter being tempted to partake of the forbidden 'fruit,' to which she finally *yielded.* 'Eve' then went to 'Adam' with an offer of the 'fruit,' who, after much resistance, likewise 'fell'; whereupon the 'Lord' came into the Garden, with a glittering white robe bespangled with every kind of brilliants that could send back a flash of light, from whose face 'Adam' and 'Eve' and the 'Tempter' fled away, hiding among the trees; but finally the two confessed their crime, and the 'Lord' pronounced a curse upon them and upon their race, copied from Genesis, and the 'Devil' crawled out of sight upon his face. The ‘Lord’ then put aprons upon ‘Adam’ and ‘Eve’ and upon us all, made of white linen, illustrated with green silk, to represent fig leaves. We were then led out again, each to our respective rooms; and thus ended the ‘first glory.’

“I deem it proper, and a duty I owe to my sex, to hand down to infamy the names of the women I have seen not only then, but since, represent ‘Eve’ in the Garden of Eden. . . . Eliza Snow, who was one of the wives of the Prophet Joseph, and now a wife of Brigham Young for ‘time,’ performed this part more than any other woman. At fifty years of age she is even yet very beautiful, and she may be said to have performed infamously well. I have often seen Mrs. Buel do the same. She is the woman whose husband lived at Lima, Ill., when Joseph seduced her from him. . . . ‘Satan’ is generally represented by Judge Phelps—Levi Hancock also performed the same—and ‘Adam’ by Orson Hyde and Parley P. Pratt. The character of the ‘Lord’ was always represented by Brigham Young, if he could possibly be there.

“The whole room was hung with white cloth, and behind one side of the Garden of Eden there was no wall but the curtain, with an arrangement of ‘peep-holes,’ where the Mormons who have before taken their endowments may witness it again. Brigham Young was in the habit of sending for various ones among the women to that room, where he examined them as to their passwords and grips, and forced them to witness again the ‘temptation.’ . . .

“I have not mentioned the dress of ‘Adam’ and ‘Eve,’ nor the nature of the ‘fruit’ by which each was in turn tempted. . . . While I have said enough, I have also left more unsaid than the imagination, held by the loosest rein, would be likely to picture; and I have only to add that the reality is too monstrous for human belief”

Since those days there have been certain modifications in the ceremony; but the following account, procured by the author from a source having every justification for its claim of reliability, gives the entire ceremony, which generally begins about 8 a.m., and lasts until about 2 p.m. Endowments, it must be remembered, are given only to those whose loyalty is unquestioned and who are above suspicion; and having once "passed through" the Temple, Mormons are sure to "inherit the kingdom," and will attain to high places in the life after this world:

GETTING A "RECOMMEND."

Before a candidate for taking the endowment can enter the Temple he must obtain a "recommend" from the Bishop of his ward. This is generally given after inquiries have been made, and it is shown that the candidate has paid all his tithing and otherwise is a good Mormon. Having obtained the "recommend" from the Bishop, he takes it to the president of the "stake" in which he lives, and the president countersigns it.

The next step of the candidate is to procure his or her Temple clothing which is used in the washing ceremony. For men the clothing consists of a pair of white pants, the garments, a robe and girdle, a cap and pair of moccasins, and a green silk apron upon which is embroidered nine fig leaves. For a woman the clothing consists of the garments, a robe and girdle, a hood and veil,[1] an apron, a shield, and a pair of moccasins. The "shield" is a long strip of muslin with a hole in the centre. The muslin, which is about thirty inches wide, is put over the head, and the sides are clasped in the hands.

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[1] The veil is one of the most important articles required for the ceremony. Mormon women always veil their faces when prayer is offered in the endowment ceremony, and when they die the veil is put over their faces when they are laid in their coffins, remaining so until the husband raises the veil at the resurrection. Otherwise they cannot rise from the dead.

FROM THE ANNEX TO THE RECORDER

On the day appointed for the candidate to take his endowment he goes to the Temple, entering by the door of the annex, and having with him his endowment clothing. In a small room he presents his "recommend" to an official seated at a table, and at the same time makes his contribution in money. As the "recommend" is good for six months, it is carefully scrutinised for future identification; and, having been passed, the candidate proceeds through a doorway to the subway, where he is instructed to take his shoes off as he is now on "holy ground." Then he goes upstairs in his stockinged feet to the Recorder's desk. There are generally several Recorders, and to one of these he gives his genealogy and the name of the place where he was born. The names of those who are being "sealed" are given to another official. When the candidate is taking endowment for the dead, he simply gives the names and birthplace of the parties concerned.

IN THE CHAPEL

All candidates then gather together in the chapel, and when everyone has passed through the Recorder's room a short service is held in the chapel. Usually this service consists of a few hymns, a prayer, and a short address by one of the leaders, a benediction closing the service.

Thereafter the men who are taking endowments retire to the rear of the room behind heavy curtains, and there are ordained Elders. The reason for this is that none but those who are members of the Melchizedec priesthood can take endowments for the dead, and the difficulty is got over by electing all candidates who have been recommended to the office.

THE WASHING ROOM AND ANOINTMENT

When the candidates are ordained they are sent downstairs to the Washing Room. There, divested of their clothing, they wait in queue to get into the bath, each having his garments over his arm. The bath is quite an ordinary one, supplied with hot and cold water, and in this all the new priests step as their turn comes. An attendant then proceeds with the washing ceremony, repeating the words as he does so :

> Brother, having authority, I wash you that you may be clean from the blood and sins of this generation. I wash your head that your brain may work clearly and be quick of discernment; your eyes that they may see clearly and discern the things of God ; your ears that they may hear the word of the Lord; your nose that you may smell; your mouth and lips that they may speak no guile; your arms that they may be strong to weild the sword in defence of truth and virtue ; your breasts and vitals that their functions may be strengthened ; your loins and reins that you may be fruitful in the propagating of a goodly seed ; your legs and feet that you may run and not be weary, and walk and not faint.

The candidates are then seated on a stool, and, after being dried with a towel, they are anointed all over with oil poured from a cow's horn, while an attendant makes the same pronouncements as are made during the washing process.

BESTOWING THE NEW NAME AND GARMENTS

Another attendant then takes the candidate in hand, and places the endowment garments on him, repeating at the same time the formula :

> Brother, I now give you these garments, which are patterned after those given to our Father, Adam, when he was found naked in the Garden of Eden. They are called the garments of the holy priesthood, and will prove a shield and protection to you till you have furnished your work in righteousness upon the earth. They are never to be removed except for the purpose of cleanliness, and then only for no longer than is necessary. With these garments I give you a new name which is never to be divulged to anyone. It is a key-word, and will be required of you at a certain part of these proceedings this day. The name I shall give you is ——.

The secret name is then whispered into the candidate's ear; generally it is a name taken from the Bible or from the *Book of Mormon*, the latter being more common than the former. The garments are then put on, and the candidates are permitted to go to the Dressing Room, where they put on a pair of white pants and a long white robe like a linen nightshirt.

THE ROOM CALLED "CHAOS."

When they are dressed in the robes, the candidates form up in queue once again, and proceed to a room where they are identified and given a ticket on which is written the name of the dead person they are representing in the endowment. A teller, who sits by the door, counts the number of candidates as they pass into another room, where all are seated in tip-up chairs. This room is supposed to represent Chaos, or the state of the universe before Creation. It is a bare apartment, the only decoration being two pairs of hands clasped over the doorway in the "Fides" grip. Men are placed on the right of the apartment, the women on the left; and when all is in order an official representing Elohim appears from behind a curtain, and addresses the audience thus:

> Brethren, you have been washed and pronounced clean; that is, clean from the blood and the sins of this generation. You have been anointed that you may become kings and priests to our God and Christ; not that you have been anointed kings and priests, but that you may become such. This will depend on your faithfulness.
>
> Sisters, you have been washed and anointed that you may become queens and priestesses unto your lords, that is, your husbands. You also had garments given you and with these garments a new name, which you were told never to divulge; that name is a key-word, and will be required of you at a certain place during these endowments this day.
>
> And here I would ask any of you who wish to retire to do so at this stage of the proceedings. If you wish to do so, you may signify that by raising your right hand.

After waiting to see if any are brave enough to retire, the speaker proceeds:

> You will now hear three voices—the voices of Elohim, Jehovah, and Michael. Elohim will command. Give close attention and hear.

The speaker then retires behind the curtain from which he emerged. There is silence for some moments, during which the audience are waiting eagerly for developments. At last the voice of Elohim is heard calling:

> Jehovah! Michael! Matter is unorganised. We shall go down and form a world like unto other worlds which we have formed where the spirits who are waiting bodies may tabernacle.

From some distance, apparently, Jehovah and Michael reply with the words:

> We will go down.

The story of Creation is then gone through, representing the seven days mentioned in the story in Genesis, Jehovah and Michael reporting at the "end" of each day to Elohim on their "labours." On the fourth day, when Elohim gives the order for light to appear, the electric lights in the apartment are all turned on fully, illuminating the place brilliantly. The following conversation takes place at the end of the fifth day:

> *Michael:* Jehovah, see the earth which we have formed, plentifully supplied with animal and vegetable life. It looks glorious and very beautiful.
>
> *Jehovah:* It looks beautiful. Let us return and report our labours.

After a short pause in the proceedings, Elohim, Jehovah, and Michael enter, the latter sitting on a chair facing the audience. Then Jehovah speaks.

> *Jehovah:* In the earth we have formed there is not a man to till the ground.
>
> *Elohim:* We will make a man in our own image

Elohim and Jehovah then stand in front of Michael, and make several passes and signs over him, somewhat after the manner of hypnotists; they breathe on him, and he seems to go to sleep. Then Elohim turns to the audience.

Elohim : The man now being operated upon is Michael, who helped form the world. When he awakes he will be known as Adam. He will have forgotten everything, and will be as a little child.

Turning to Michael, he says loudly :

Adam, awake !

Adam awakes with a start, and looks round about.

Elohim : It is not good for man to be alone.
Jehovah : It is not good, for *we* are not alone.
Elohim : We will cause a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and make for him a woman to be with him.

Sleep is then produced on Adam by the same method and hypnotic gestures as already mentioned. Elohim turns to the audience again.

Elohim : Let the brethren now close their eyes as if they were asleep.

While the audience close their eyes Eve is introduced from behind the curtain, where she had been waiting her turn to appear. Elohim takes up the story again by shouting :

Adam ! Here is the woman we have formed for you. What name shall you call her ?

Adam, now thoroughly awake, glances searchingly at Eve, and, after a moment's consideration, answers :

Eve !
Elohim : Why will you call her Eve ?
Adam : Because she is the mother of all living.
Elohim : That is true, Adam. She is the mother of all living.
Elohim (to Jehovah) : We will plant a garden eastward in Eden, and there we will put the man whom we have formed

> *Elohim* (to the audience) : The brethren will now follow Adam, and the sisters will follow Eve into the room representing the Garden of Eden.

The audience then rises and goes into the Garden of Eden Room, which, with the others, have already been described in the previous chapter.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN ROOM.

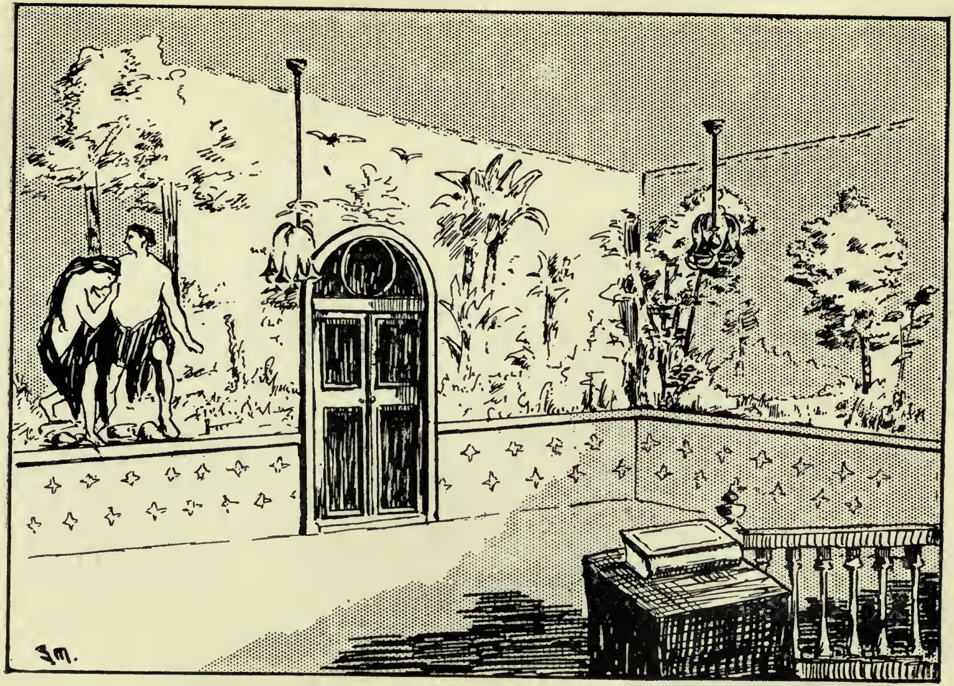
When all are seated and everything is in order for the continuance of the performance, Elohim, speaking to Adam, says :

> Adam, here is a garden we have planted for you. Of all the trees of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die. Now be fruitful and multiply. Be happy. We go away now, but we will return and give you further instructions.

Elohim and Jehovah enter the elevator and ascend into the heavens, the elevator being painted to represent clouds, and thus aid the acting. As they disappear Adam says a few words to the audience, telling them to be calm, and not to be surprised at what they are about to see and hear. As he finishes speaking, the door by which the audience entered opens, and there enters a man. He walks up the centre aisle with folded arms, looking from right to left as he advances. His dress is of black cloth, and he wears a silk hat and an apron like that of Masonic pattern. This stranger is Lucifer, who represents the Devil's entry into Eden.

> *Lucifer :* You have a nice world here, Adam. It seems to be after the pattern of the world we used to inhabit.
>
> *Adam :* I do not know of any other world.
>
> *Lucifer :* Ah, I see you haven't had your eyes opened yet.

He then goes to the tree representing the apple-tree, and pretends to pluck the fruit. In reality he takes it off the small shelf already mentioned. Different fruits,



INTERIOR OF THE MORMON TEMPLE.
The Garden of Eden Room, showing the expulsion of Adam and Eve.

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in accordance with the season of the year, are provided; sometimes it is strawberries, sometimes raisins, etc. He offers these to Adam.

> *Lucifer:* Adam, take some of the fruit of this tree. It will make you wise.
>
> *Adam:* No, I shall not partake.
>
> *Lucifer:* What! You won't! We shall soon see!

Turning round, Lucifer sees Eve, and, after pretending that he is surprised to see a woman, he calls her.

> *Lucifer:* Eve, here is some of the fruit of that tree. Take some of it. It will make you wise.
>
> *Eve:* But who are you?
>
> *Lucifer:* Why, I am your brother. .
>
> *Eve:* You, my brother, yet you have come to tempt me to disobey my Father?
>
> *Lucifer:* Why, I said nothing about Father. (Shaking some of the fruit in his hand). Here, take some of this fruit. It will make you wise.
>
> *Eve:* But oui Father said that in the day whereof we eat we should surely die.
>
> *Lucifer:* That is not so. You shall not die, but you shall be as gods. You shall know good from evil, virtue from vice, and happiness from misery.
>
> *Eve:* But is there no other way to know these things?
>
> *Lucifer:* No, there is no other way.
>
> *Eve:* Then I will take the fruit.

She takes some of the fruit and eats it, appearing to enjoy it very much. Meanwhile Lucifer is watching her closely. Finally he speaks again:

> That's right. Now, go and get Adam to have some fruit, and he too will enjoy it.
>
> *Eve:* Adam, here is some of the fruit of that tree (pointing to the Tree of Knowledge). It is delicious fruit.
>
> *Adam:* No, I shall not partake of it. You know our Father commanded us not to partake of the fruit of that tree.
>
> *Eve:* But do you intend to obey all our Father's commands?
>
> *Adam:* Yes, I intend to obey all of them.
>
> *Eve:* Well, you know our Father commands us to be fruitful and multiply. Now, I have partaken of the fruit

> and shall be cast out and you will remain alone in the Garden of Eden.
>
> *Adam :* Oh, I see. Then I will partake so that man may be.
>
> *Eve* (to Lucifer) : I know you now. You are Lucifer, who was cast out of our Father's presence for your rebeilion.
>
> *Lucifer :* I see you are beginning to get your eyes open already.
>
> *Adam :* What apron is that you are wearing ?
>
> *Lucifer :* That is an emblem of my power and priesthood.

At this moment heavy footsteps are heard approaching, and Elohim and Jehovah enter, having stepped off the elevator just descended. Elohim calls loudly :

> Adam ! Adam ! Where are you ?
>
> *Adam* : (coming forward, and looking very downcast and ashamed) : I am here. I heard thy voice as I was walking in the garden, and I was afraid because I knew I was naked and I hid myself.
>
> *Elohim* : Who told thee that thou wast naked ? Hast thou eaten of the fruit whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not eat ?
>
> *Adam* : The woman that thou gavest me gave me of the fruit, and I did eat.
>
> *Elohim* : Eve, what hast thou done ?
>
> *Eve* : The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.
>
> *Elohim* : Lucifer, what have you been doing here ?
>
> *Lucifer* : I have done the same as we have done in other worlds, given them some of the fruit to open their eyes.
>
> *Elohim* : For this that thou hast done thou art accursed above all cattle. Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shall be thy meat all the days of thy life on the earth.
>
> *Lucifer* : Then I will take of the treasures of this earth, silver and gold, and will buy up armies and navies, popes and princes, and I will reign with blood and horror in the earth.
>
> *Elohim* : Begone, Lucifer !

Lucifer, after a hasty glance round the scene, retreats to a side door, where he halts, and, turning round, glares at Elohim, and folds his arms in a defiant way. After remaining a moment in this attitude he stamps his foot angrily and retires, still looking defiantly over his shoulder.

Elohim (to Eve) : Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of the Tempter, and hast eaten of the fruit whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not eat, I will multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children. Nevertheless, thou mayst be saved by child-bearing. Thy seed shall bruise the serpent's head, and he shall bruise thy heel.

Elohim (to Adam) : Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the fruit of the tree, cursed is the ground for thy sake. In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread till thou turn into the ground from whence thou wast taken ; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.

Elohim (to Jehovah) : Let Adam be cast out of the garden, and the cherubim and a flaming sword be placed to guard the way of the Tree of Life.

Jehovah : It shall be done, Elohim.

Jehovah (loudly) : Let cherubim and a flaming sword be placed to guard the way of the Tree of Life.

When this announcement is made a sword is thrust through between the curtains at the back and flourished by an unseen hand. Eve, who has been standing near the elevator, gazes up at it ; then walks across to Adam, and stands at his right side.

Elohim : Adam, we will provide for you a Saviour, and will send to you messengers who will instruct you how you may once again return to our presence.

Having delivered themselves thus, Elohim and Jehovah enter the elevator and ascend out of sight, whereupon Adam turns to the audience.

Adam : Brethen and Sisters, among the garments given you you will find an apron. You will now put the apron on.

They all rise and put on the aprons which they received when they entered the Temple.

Adam : Brethen and Sisters, I would ask here if any of you have forgotten the new name given you ? If any of you have forgotten, kindly hold up your hand.

As a rule none of the audience have forgotten the secret name given them ; but if any have, they are taken out and given a new name. When this has been done Adam gives the instructions :

> You will all now please arise, push back your chairs, and place your robe on the right shoulder, put on your caps and moccasins, and receive the first token of the Aaronic priesthood. You will not forget that the utmost secrecy is to be observed in regard to these proceedings, which must not be spoken of even to each other.

THE FIRST TOKEN OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

The first token of the Aaronic priesthood, as mentioned by 'Adam,' is received in this manner : the left arm is placed at the square, palm of the hand to the front, the right hand and arm raised to the neck. The palm is held downward, with the thumb under the right ear.

> *Adam :* You, and each of you, covenant and promise that you will not reveal this, the first token of the Aaronic priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign, and penalty : Should I do so, I agree that my throat be cut from ear to to ear and my tongue torn out by the roots from my mouth.

As the last words are spoken the right hand is drawn swiftly across the throat and the hands dropped from the square to the sides.

> *Adam :* All bow your heads and say " Yes."
> *Adam :* The Brethen will now follow Adam and the Sisters will follow Eve into the room representing the Desolate World.

THE DESOLATE WORLD ROOM.

When the candidates have entered the World Room and taken their seats, Adam takes up his position behind the altar. Eve stands facing the women on the other side of the apartment.

> *Adam :* When Adam was sent out of the Garden of Eden he built an altar and prayed unto the Lord. These were the words he used :

O Lord, hear the words of my mouth !
O Lord, hear the words of my mouth !
O Lord, hear the words of my mouth !

At this moment Lucifer enters from the back of the room, and goes up to Adam, standing a little behind him.

Lucifer : I hear you. What is it you want ?
Adam : Who are you ?
Lucifer : The God of this world ; that's who I am.
Adam : I was calling on my Father.
Lucifer : Oh, I know what you want. You want religion.

A Preacher enters from the back of the room.

Preacher : You have a fine congregation here.

Lucifer : You are a preacher, are you ?

Preacher : Yes, I am a preacher. I have been to college and have studied the dead languages. No one can be a successful preacher unless he has done that.

Lucifer : Good. Well, if you will preach to this congregation and convert them I will give you four thousand a year.

Preacher : It is not much, but I will do it. (Turns to Adam). I understand you are looking for religion. (Producing a hymn-book) Let us sing two verses of a hymn.

The whole audience, led by Lucifer and the Preacher, then sing the following two verses :

Hail, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
  One Lord, in persons three,
To Thee we make our joyful boast,
  Our songs we raise to Thee.

The Fountain of every joy and grace,
  Our God, we Thee adore ;
Beyond the bounds of time and space
  Thou dwellest evermore.

Preacher (to Adam) : Do you believe in this Great Spirit without body, parts, or passions, who sits on the top of a topless throne, beyond the bounds of time and space, whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere, who fills immensity with his presence, and yet is so small he can dwell in your heart ; who is surrounded by millions of saved beings, saved by no act of their own but by His good pleasure? Do you believe all this?

Adam: No, I do not believe it at all.

Preacher: I am sorry for you if you don't believe it.

Lucifer: What is it you want?

Adam: I do not want anything. I am only waiting messengers from my Father.

From above comes the sound of the voice of Elohim.

Elohim: Jehovah, Adam seems to be faithful. Send down to him Peter, James, and John, so that they may see how he is progressing.

Peter, James, and John now descend a flight of stairs at the side of the room, and walk towards Adam.

Peter: What is going on here?

Lucifer: We are making a religion for Adam.

Peter: What are you making this religion out of?

Lucifer: We are making it out of notions and novels of men and women, and it has a coating of Scripture. They all believe it but Adam, who refuses to believe it.

Adam: This preacher tells of a God without a body, and a hell without a bottom, into which the wicked are cast, and where they are for ever burning and yet are never consumed. I cannot believe all that.

Peter: We do not blame you. We will come to you again shortly.

Peter, James, and John then ascend the stairway, and in a few moments Peter is heard addressing Elohim above.

Peter: We have been down to the man Adam. Lucifer is with him, and also a preacher. They are trying to get him to believe all manner of false doctrines, but in the midst of it all he remains faithful.

Elohim: Go down again to the man Adam in your proper characters, and give him the second token of the Aaronic priesthood.

Peter, James and John now return to the scene of the world, each announcing himself by name.

Preacher: Are you the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

Peter: We are. (Pointing to Lucifer). Do you know who that man is?

Preacher : He is head of all the religious denominations of the world.

Peter : Why, that's Lucifer !

Preacher (in alarm) : What ! The Devil !

Peter : Yes, I believe that is one of his names. You should get out of his employ at once.

Lucifer (to preacher) : I offered you four thousand a year, but you have not converted the people. Instead, they have nearly converted you. Get out of my kingdom.

The Preacher goes out by a side door.

Peter (to Lucifer) : Depart !

Lucifer : By whose authority do you command me ?

Peter (making the sign of the token of the Aaronic priesthood) : In the name of Jesus Christ, my Master.

Lucifer leaves the scene by a side door, apparently in deep dejection.

Adam, to test the visitors, takes Peter by the hand and gives the token of the priesthood, which is returned. He then asks Peter several questions, and, on the latter answering correctly, Adam turns to the audience and informs them that " these are true messengers from Father," and advises them to " give heed to their instructions, and they will lead you in the ways of life and salvation." Peter, James, and John then depart to " report " the result of their visit.

THE SECOND TOKEN OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

When Peter, James, and John have departed, the candidates prepare to receive the second token of the Aaronic priesthood.

The sign is made by placing the left arm extended to the front with the hand in a cuppling position, as though about to receive and hold something ; right arm across chest, with thumb extended, palm of hand down and under left elbow over the heart.

Adam : You, each and all of you, do covenant and promise : I will not reveal this, the second token of the Aaronic priesthood, with its accompanying name, sign, or penalty. Should I do so, I agree to have my breast cut open and

> my heart and vitals torn from my body. All bow your heads and say " Yes."

As the last words are spoken the right hand is drawn swiftly across the chest and the hands dropped by the sides. The name, as in the previous token, is the secret name given to the person earlier in the ceremony. The grip is given by clasping the hand of the person between the first and the second knuckles. The grip in the first token is given by pressing the knuckle of the index finger with the thumb.

The voice of Peter is now heard above, telling Elohim that the man Adam has received the second token; and Elohim replies by instructing Peter, James, and John to go down and give Adam the first token of the Melchisedec priesthood. Shortly afterwards the three enter by the stairway, and Peter announces that the brethren will now follow Adam and the sisters will follow Eve into the Terrestrial Kingdom.

THE TERRESTRIAL KINGDOM.

They file into the Terrestrial Room in the same order as in the other rooms, and the ceremony continues when all are seated.

> *Peter :* The Brethren and Sisters will stand and receive the first token of the Melchisedec priesthood.

The sign is made by bringing the hands to the square, palms to the front.

Peter, standing, then administers the oath, the penalty in this case being that the candidate's " body be cut asunder in the midst, and all my bowels gush out." The " sign " is the dropping of the hands till the thumbs are in the centre of the stomach ; then they are drawn across the hips swiftly and dropped to the sides.

The grip is given by placing the thumb on the back of the hand, and the tip of the forefinger in the centre of the palm, representing the piercing of the hand by a nail. It is called " The Sign of the Nail."

The same process of "reporting" to Elohim by Peter, James, and John is then gone through; and again Elohim's voice is heard telling the three to go down and give the second token of the Melchisedec priesthood.

At the request of Peter the candidates now go into the Celestial Kingdom.

THE CELESTIAL KINGDOM.

There is no penalty attached to this second token, but nevertheless the candidates are warned that it also must remain secret, and " God is not mocked."

The sign is made by elevating the arms above the head to represent the Crucifixion.

The grip is made by grasping the hand, the forefinger on the centre of the wrist and the fingers locked. (There is a tradition that when the Saviour was crucified the nail was dragged out between the fingers by the weight of the body, and the executioner drove the nail through the wrist for security). This grip is called the " Patriarchal grip," or the " Sure Sign of the Nail."

The following oaths are then taken, with the right arm at the square:

> *Oath of Sacrifice:* I will sacrifice my time, talents, and all I may now or hereafter become possessed of to the building up of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
>
> *Law of Chastity for Men:* I will not have sexual intercourse with any of the opposite sex, except my lawful wife or wives who are given me by the Holy Priesthood.
>
> *Law of Chastity for Women:* I will not have sexual intercourse with any of the opposite sex save my lawful husband.
>
> *Oath of Vengeance:* I will pray, and never cease to pray, and never cease to importune high heaven to avenge the blood of the Prophets on this nation, and I will teach this to my children, and my children's children unto the third and fourth generation.[1]

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[1] This is supposed to be in accordance with Revelation vi. 9 and 10, which is regarded generally as qualifying the oath. It is currently reported, and is generally believed among the Mormons, that the bodies of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith are buried under the main altar of the Temple, the caskets which their enemies believed to contain the bodies, as will be remembered,

PRAYER CIRCLE.

The order of what is generally known as the Prayer Circle is then taught. As many couples as possible surround the altar, and all the tokens of the Melchisedec Order are repeated, so that the candidates are thoroughly acquainted with them.

The women are asked to veil their faces—this being done by the veil attached to the hood being lowered—and men and women take each other in the Patriarchal grip by the right hand, and place the elbow of the left on the shoulder of the person next in the circle. An Elder kneels at the altar, with right arm at the square and the hand cupped. He then offers up prayer, which is repeated by the whole circle, mentioning the names of the sick who wish to be prayed for. The circle is then disbanded, and the candidates resume their seats in order to hear the Endowment Lecture.

This lecture is delivered by Elohim from the small platform in front of the Veil. It is usually a lecture of a stereotyped kind. It is stated by Elohim that man was not made of dust, as other sects believe, but was born of woman, and that "the creation of Adam was done figuratively just to impress on you how man was made." Persons who have gone through the ceremony state that there are some portions of the lecture which are spoken in very plain language—so plain that some of the candidates are made to feel uncomfortable.

THE VEIL.

After the lecture, Peter announces that the Veil will now be uncovered. This is done by two of the Temple workers (workers are generally in the Temple, doing such minor duties as dusting, etc.), who pull the ropes which

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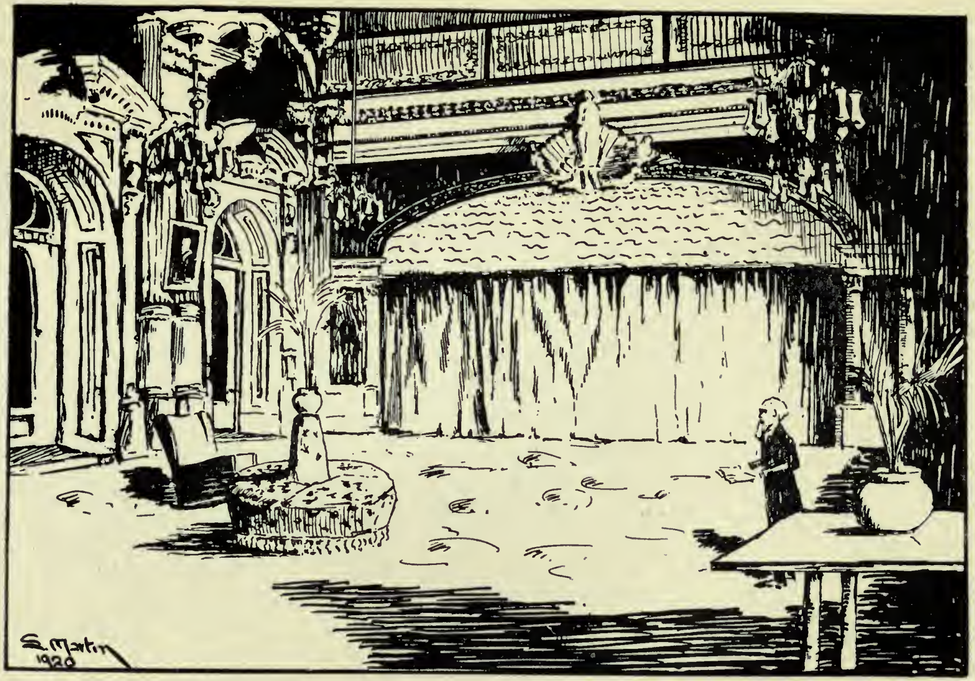
having been filled with stones, while the bodies were removed owing to the fear of anti-Mormon vows to rifle the graves—fears which were well founded. In the Appendix of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, page 488, it is proclaimed, in reference to Joseph and Hyrum Smith, that "their *innocent blood*" (the italics are in the Appendix), "with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of hosts, till He avenges that blood on the earth."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INTERIOR OF THE MORMON TEMPLE.
The Veil of the Temple and the Celestial Room.

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draw the covering of the Veil to either side, just like heavy curtains on large windows.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that this room, besides being beautifully furnished, has great mirrors on the walls. The Veil has a fine covering, trimmed with gold lace, and benches are provided for those who have been called, so that they can be seated at the Veil.

The Veil is then explained to the audience, who are told that it represents the Veil of the Temple. The "marks" on the Veil are the same as those on the Temple garments; the compass on the left and the square on the right side; the navel mark, corresponding to that part of the body; the knee mark, meaning that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow. The other marks, called the "Marks of Convenience," comprise a hole through which the "Lord" puts his hand to test the grips of the candidates; two holes through which are thrust hands to place on each other's shoulders; and one through which the candidate whispers in the "Lord's" ear.

The proceedings are as follows:

A man's name is called, and he immediately goes up on to the platform, followed by the woman, or women, whom he is taking "through the endowment." Women must have a man to see them through.

The neophyte is taken to one of the small openings by one of the workers, who raps three times on one of the pillars with a mallet. The 'Lord' parts the Veil, and asks what is required:

> *Worker:* Adam, having been true and faithful in all things, desires to converse with the Lord through the Veil.
>
> *The Lord:* See that his garments are properly marked; present him at the Veil, and his request shall be granted.

The candidate is taken up to the Veil, whereupon the "Lord" puts his hand forth, and taking that of the candidate, tests him or her in the grips and signs of the Aaronic priesthood and the Melchisedec priesthood. When asked the names of the various signs, the candidate whispers them through the Veil.

When this has been satisfactorily completed the candidate is taken to the opening, and the worker gives three more raps with the mallet.

> *The Lord :* What do you want ?
>
> *Worker :* Adam, having conversed with the Lord through the Veil, desires to enter His presence.
>
> *The Lord :* Admit him.

The candidate is taken by the hand and led behind the Veil. That makes him lord over his women ; and the three raps are given again, and the female attendant this time appears, asking that " Eve, having been true and faithful," might " converse with the Lord through the Veil."

The same performance is then gone over with the women as was just completed with the men.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

The marriage ceremony is not elaborate, and is very similar to that used in the old days when polygamy was the rule rather than the exception. The man and woman to be married kneel on either side of the altar before the Elder or higher official who performs the ceremony. With the Elder are two witnesses. The bride and bridegroom take each other's hand in the Patriarchal grip, and the Elder says :

> Do you Brother ——— take Sister ——— by the right hand to receive her unto yourself to be your lawful wedded wife and you to be her lawful wedded husband, for time and all eternity, with a covenant, and promise on your part that you will fulfil all the rites, laws, and ordnances pertaining to this holy matrimony in the new and everlasting covenant, doing this in the presence of God and angels and these witnesses, of your own free will and choice ?
>
> *Answer :* Yes.
>
> Do you Sister ——— take Brother ——— by the right hand and give yourself to him to be his lawful wedded wife, for time and all eternity, with a covenant and promise on your part that you will fulfil all the laws, rites and ordnances pertaining to this holy matrimony in the new and

everlasting covenant—this in the presence of God, angels, and these witnesses?

Answer: Yes.

Elder: In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the authority of the holy priesthood, I pronounce you legally and lawfully husband and wife for time and all eternity; and I seal upon you the blessings of the holy resurrection with power to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection, clothed upon with glory, immortality, and eternal lives; and I seal upon you the blessings of thrones and dominions and principalities and powers and exaltations, together with the blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And I say unto you, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, that you may have joy and rejoicing in your prosperity in the day of the Lord Jesus. All these blessings, together with all the other blessings pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, I seal upon your heads through your faithfulness unto the end, by the authority of the holy priesthood, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

There is no doubt that the endowment ceremonies have undergone considerable changes during the years in which they have been in operation, as the accounts of apostates vary in details, though they are identical in the general outline. Some readers, doubtless, will recognise certain resemblance in the oaths and signs and garments to Masonry, and it seems probable that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young copied part of their ceremony from anti-Masonic books which were published in their day. These similarities will be dealt with more fully elsewhere.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

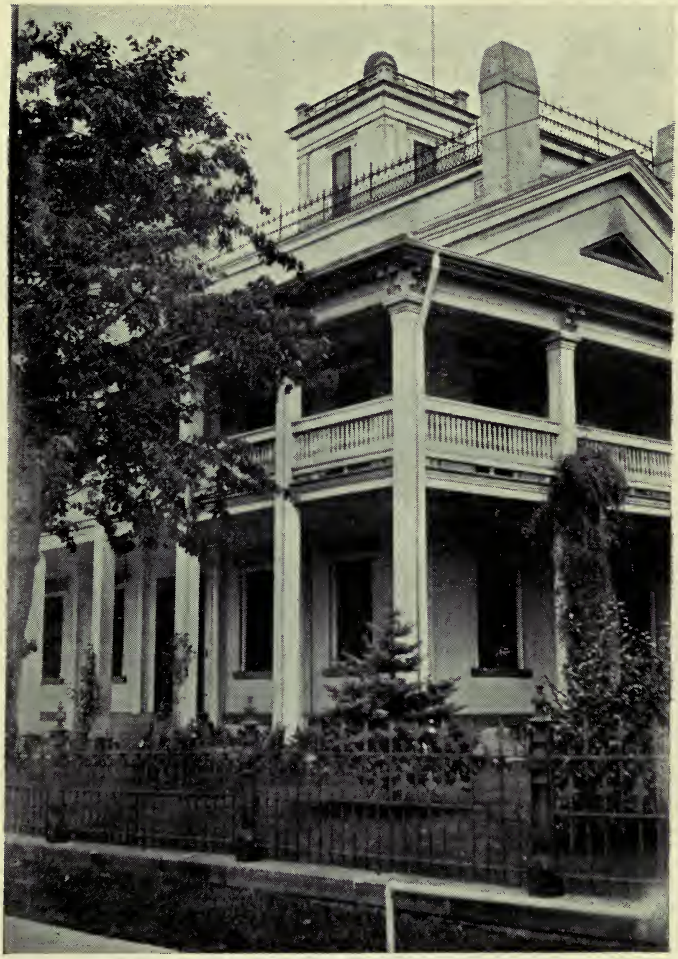
GOVERNMENT AND CREED

ADAPTED from an ancient model, the government of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is simple, yet complex. To outsiders it is confusing, autocratic, dogmatic, anachronistic; in a word, born in fraud, and relying for its life on the acceptance of that fraud as truth. To the saints it is none of these.

Before attempting to criticise the fabric of Mormonism we must state how it is built, and what are its main features. Let us begin at the top.

At the very apex of the organisation is the PRESIDENT AND PROPHET. He is the leader, temporal and spiritual; the final appeal in all matters appertaining to the spiritual side of the Church, the one channel through whom "authoritative revelations" from the Almighty are given to the Saints. The position was first held by Joseph Smith, the founder of the sect. He was "Prophet, Seer, Revelator in all the world, First President and Trustee-in-Trust of the Church." As a result of the power and authority which his position gave him, there gravitated into his hands other offices. The same titles have been bestowed on all "the prophet's" successors, and to-day Heber J. Grant, the successor to Joseph Fielding Smith, is installed in the high position.

Briefly, the prophet has the distinction of receiving, and claims the right to receive, direct Divine guidance in practically all matters. Brigham Young claimed that he was Divinely directed in all his business enterprises; but it is scarcely likely that the present leader will go that length. The prophet holds "the keys of the Kingdom," and interprets the will of God to his



THE BEEHIVE HOUSE, SALT LAKE CITY.
The official residence of the President of the Church. Note the Beehive on the top of the Tower. The emblem was adopted to signify industry.

To face page 266.

flock, generally supervising and instructing them. He appoints new officers—or, at any rate, has the last word in regard to their appointment. At one time, when the murmurings of some members were heard against Brigham Young, his Councillor, Daniel H. Wells, Mayor of Salt Lake City, declared: "It is apostasy to differ from the priesthood—though ever so honestly. A man may honestly differ, and go to hell for it." But many differed in spite of that warning; and not a few differ even now.

The FIRST PRESIDENCY consists of the President, a First and a Second Councillor. Heber J. Grant's Councillors are Anthon Lund and Charles W. Penrose, who also enjoy the title of "President," and act for the leader in his absence, or at his suggestion. Both Lund and Penrose were First and Second Councillors, respectively, to Joseph F. Smith.

PATRIARCH is an office of practically a spiritual kind only, which has little or nothing to do with the general organisation of the Church. A Patriarch may give blessings and spiritual comfortings, but, as a rule, has little to do with the material work of the Church. The first Patriarch was Joseph Smith's father, generally known as "Old Father Smith."

The QUORUM OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES is the next body of importance. It is a duty of the Twelve to inspect every "stake," or district, and see that the Church organisation is in proper order therein. Sometimes, when an Apostle is sent abroad in charge of a mission, another is appointed in his place, so that the number may be kept unbroken.

Under the Apostles is the rank of PRESIDENT OF THE SEVENTIES. The "Seventies" is really the number of quorums elected from the main body of adherents, Each quorum of seven has a president, and these form a governing body which looks after the missionary work.

The BISHOPS, who come after the Presidents of the

Seventies, had originally the direction and care of the municipal and, to a large extent, the civil administration. Salt Lake City is divided into thirty-six or so wards, and over each presides a Bishop, who is assisted by Ward Teachers. The work of the latter is visiting the people, keeping them up to their religious duties, and reporting to the higher authorities when necessary.

The PRIESTHOOD may be noted briefly. All officiating Mormons belong to either of the two Orders—the Aaronic and the Melchizedec priesthoods. The latter, in reality, supersedes the former, who almost exclusively deal with temporal affairs. All the higher officials are members of the Melchizedec Order. A High-Priest is next to an Apostle in rank. Following the High-Priest are several stages in Eldership.

Now as to the creed of Mormonism.

The theology of the Church need only be stated to be seen in all its absurdity. These are the main points, taken from their own standard " inspired " work, Parley P. Pratt's *Key to Theology* :

1. The Mormon belief is that spirit and matter are one ; that spirit is matter refined to an infinite degree. " The purest, most refined and subtle of all is that substance called the Holy Spirit. This substance, like all others, is one of the elements of material or physical existence, and, therefore, subject to the necessary laws which govern all matter. . . . It is widely diffused among all the elements of space ; under the control of the Great Elohim it is the moving cause of all the intelligences, by which they act. It is omnipresent by reason of the infinitude of its particles, is the controlling element of all others, and comprehends all things. By the mandate of the Almighty it performs all the wonders ever manifested in the name of the Lord. Its inherent properties embrace all the attributes of intelligence and affection. In short, it is the attributes of the eternal power and Godhead."

2. Men, angels, spirits, and Gods, the four orders of

intelligent beings, are all one species, and differ only in degree. God is man perfected. All men are potential Gods. Thus Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, for instance, are in eternity developing themselves swiftly so that they shall one day be Gods over all their progeny.

3. Throughout the vast expanse of space there are many worlds, all peopled by spirits, and divided into kingdoms and nations. Over each world reigns a God, who, to the inhabitants thereof, is the "only true and living God." Thus, to this world in which we live, there is but one God, "the Creator of the world and the Father of our spirits, literally begotten." He was once a man, and attained his high position by degrees (just as all good Mormons will attain to a high position hereafter). "He is the father of Jesus Christ in the only way known in Nature, just as John Smith, senior, is father to John Smith, junior."

4. All Gods have wives, and become the fathers of the souls of men by Divine generation. The Gods are in the form of men, of the same substance, but more "refined." Man, if faithful, will advance until he has the same creative and designing power as the present Gods, who will go higher in the scale, the end of which is beyond our finite comprehension.

5. "When the earth was prepared, there came from an upper world a Son of Heaven, with his beloved spouse, and thus a colony from heaven, it may be from the sun, was transplanted on our soil." Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet, stands next to Christ (Smith now being one of the Gods of his generation), and Christ stands next to Adam. Above the latter is Jehovah, and above Jehovah is Elohim, who is the highest God of whom we in this world have any knowledge. Elohim lives in the planet Kolob, which is near the centre of our system; it revolves on its axis once in a thousand years—hence the biblical statement that "a thousand years are but a day in Thy house." There were six days in the creation of this world, each of a thousand

of our years, and the history of the world is divided up into days of a like period.

6. As the Gods in the different worlds are made " like men," they are subject to the same instincts, and countless beings are born in these worlds. But, though they have all the senses of ordinary men, they could not thus " advance," and it is necessary for them to be subject to the moral laws of earth. They therefore " seek earnestly for earthly tabernacles, haunting even the abodes of the vilest of mankind to obtain them." (It will be seen how this belief has forced the Mormons to believe in the pre-existence of souls theory.) The highest glory of a woman is to provide these spirits with a tabernacle in the flesh, and in proportion to the number of children she bears, so will a woman be exalted. Her only road to salvation is through childbirth, by the physical process of introducing spirits to earth. Those spirits who reach this earth by this process are then in their " second estate," and, if they become faithful Mormons, will ultimately become " celestialised men " —third estate—and will in time become Gods.

7. Concerning the Fall of Adam and Eve, the *Book of Mormon* says: " Now, behold, if Adam had not transgressed, he would not have fallen, but would have remained in the Garden of Eden. And all things which were created must have remained in the same state which they were after they were created; and they must have remained for ever, and had no end. And they would have remained in a state of innocence, having no joy, for they knew no misery; doing no good, for they knew no sin."

No wonder that one anti-Mormon writer sums up the position by the quaint remark that by this process of reasoning Adam and Eve had to violate the one command in order to keep the other—to " increase and multiply "—and in their fall Adam and Eve really " fell uphill."

8. Woman, by herself, could never progress to the

high places, for "as Eve led Adam out of the garden, he must lead her back." Many special provisions are made for the sincere persons of both sexes, however, who have never heard of the "true gospel." The chief of these provisions is Baptism for the Dead.

9. There are three heavens, typified by the sun, moon, and stars; but only the faithful will reach the first. The others are reserved for those who have never heard the "gospel, or those who, because of a fault not altogether their own, failed to obey." For those who apostatise or who persecute the Mormons there is no hope. They will "never enter a rest."

10. The "last dispensation" is drawing to a close, and then the great fight between Gog and Magog will take place. Afterwards the lost tribes will be gathered together, Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and God will finally establish Zion, the New Jerusalem, in the earth. (The place where the New Jerusalem is to be planted was long held to be in Jackson County, Missouri; but it is very hard to get any statement on this point from the present-day Mormons. It was stated, and believed at one time, that this would take place about the year 1890.)

These are the main contentions of the creed of Mormonism. Only to a certain cast of mind are they acceptable, and it seems certain that even these believers will be constrained before long to jettison the doctrines which have been expounded by the Saints since the creed was founded. The fact is that Mormonism, when examined, seems to be composed of pieces of other religions; there is a touch of Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Greek mythology, Roman Catholicism, and other "isms" in its make-up, which leave it open to attack theologically from every side. It is not the author's intention to go into theological discussion on the question here, for there is ample evidence that Mormonism may receive its *coup de grace* from other sources. Already there are murmurings heard within the camp.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE CONFLICT OF CREED AND INTELLECT

THAT there is a state of suppressed opposition to the attitude of the leaders in the Mormon Church to-day is undeniable, and the reason for this state of insubordination—or approach to insubordination—is twofold.

In the first place, the young Mormons of to-day are as intelligent as are the young men and women in any other American community, and they have become restive under the doctrines of Joseph Smith and his successors. Brigham Young's teaching may have suited a rough class of people in a wilderness; it could not, and cannot, suit minds trained to think and investigate. The Mormons claim to be intellectual; they take great credit to themselves in that they have established schools and a university in the State. By doing so they have committed theological suicide. They expected that science would buttress and vindicate the *Book of Mormon* and the other religious books of the Saints. They have found that science does the reverse.

In the second place, the pursuit of commercialism, fostered and encouraged by the Church, has led to a loosening of the bonds which once surrounded the organisation, and has resulted in many of their commercial men becoming more interested in their commerce than their creed—just as is the case in other communities. There are in Salt Lake City to-day many men and women who are Mormon in name only.

The present internal struggle is underground; it is a struggle of which the casual visitor, and even the ordinary inhabitant, is barely conscious. To them the fight appears to be merely a passing " storm in a teacup."

But it is much more than that. Although this unrest has been smouldering for some time, it first became apparent within recent years, when the manifestation—one should say one of the manifestations—of the coming crisis was nothing less than an attack on one of the Mormon " holy " books, and a declaration that the book was a fraud.

This book is the *Pearl of Great Price*, one of the three books of revelations issued by Joseph Smith in the early days of the movement, and held to be an " inspired " work. The other two books are the *Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants*.

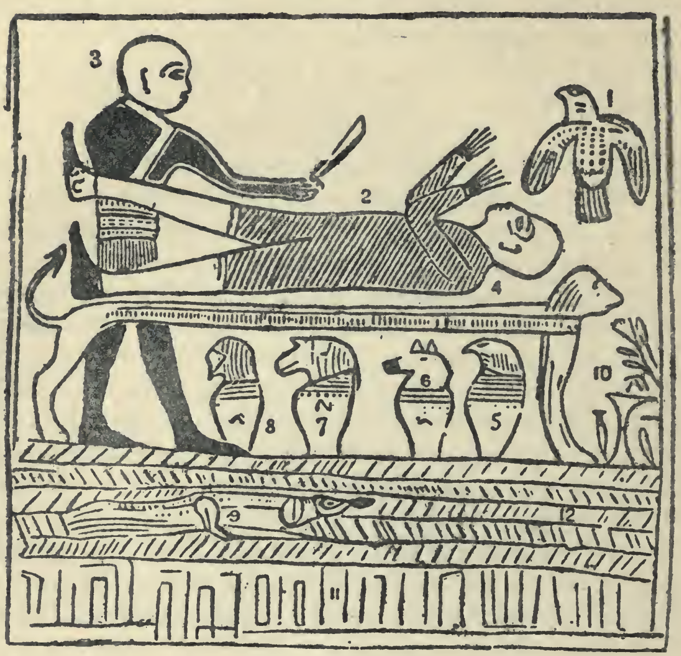
It was about 1835 that Smith first came into touch with the source of the *Pearl of Great Price*. At that time, or about that time, he received from one Michael H. Chandler two or three pieces of papyri and two Egyptian mummies. No men then could read the Egyptian hieroglyphics with accuracy. The Rosetta stone had not been deciphered, and Egyptology was practically a closed book. Joseph Smith, " with the aid of the Urim and Thummim," nevertheless translated the hieroglyphics of the papyri and published his translations, with three illustrations supposed to be on the papyri, under the title of the *Pearl of Great Price*.

The book is divided into two main portions, entitled, respectively, the *Book of Moses* and the *Book of Abraham*. There is a third section, an autobiographical summary of the prophet's life, which need not be touched upon, as it contains little that is new. The *Book of Abraham* is the section to which the illustrations refer, and the book is headed by the following statement :

> *A translation of some ancient records which have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt ; the writings of Abraham while he was in Egypt, called the " Book of Abraham," written by his own hand upon papyrus.*

Here are the illustrations in question, with Joseph Smith's interpretations thereof:

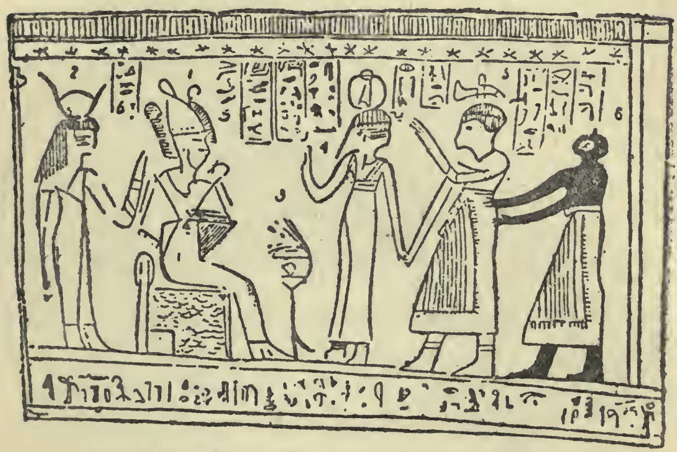
A Fac-simile from the Book of Abraham



EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT

Fig. 1. The Angel of the Lord. 2. Abraham fastened upon an altar. 3. The idolatrous priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice. 4. The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests, standing before the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmackrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. 5. The idolatrous god of Elkenah. 6. The idolatrous god of Libnah. 7. The idolatrous god of Mahmackrah. 8. The idolatrous god of Korash. 9. The idolatrous god of Pharaoh. 10. Abraham in Egypt. 11. Designed to represent the pillars of heaven, as understood by the Egyptians. 12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify Shaumau, to be high, or the heavens, answering to the Hebrew word Shaumahyeem.

A FAC-SIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM



EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT

1. Abraham sitting upon Pharaoh's throne, by the politeness of the king, with a crown upon his head, representing the Priesthood, as emblematical of the grand Presidency in Heaven ; with the sceptre of justice and judgment in his hand.

2. King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head.

3. Signifies Abraham in Egypt ; referring to Abraham, as given in the ninth number of the *Times and Seasons.* (Also as given in the first fac-simile of this book.)

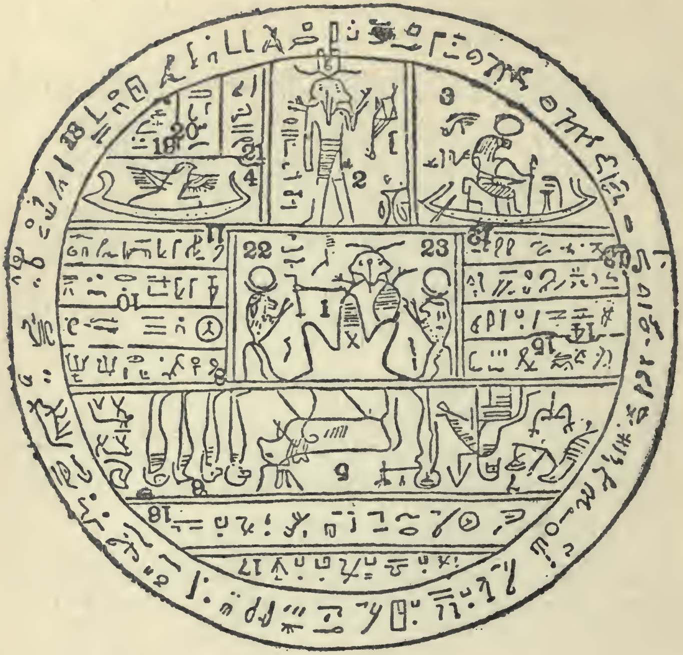
4. Prince of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as written above the hand.

5. Shulem, one of the king's principal waiters, as represented by the characters above his hand.

6. Olimlah, a slave belonging to the prince.

Abraham is reasoning upon the principles of astronomy, in the king's court.

A FAC-SIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM



EXPLANATION OF THE FOREGOING CUT

Fig. 1. Kolob, signifying the first creation, nearest to the celestial, or residence of God. First in Government, the last pertaining to the measurement of time. The measurement according to celestial time, which celestial time signifies one day to a cubit. One day in Kolob is equal to a thousand years, according to the measurement of this earth, which is called by the Egyptians Jah-oh-eh.

Fig. 2. Stands next to Kolob, called by the Egyptians Oliblish, which is the next grand governing creation near to the celestial or the place where God resides; holding the key of power also, pertaining to other planets; as revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar, which he had built unto the Lord.

Fig. 3. Is made to represent God, sitting upon his throne, clothed with power and authority; with a crown of eternal light upon his ead; representing also the grand Key-Words of the Holy Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, as also to Seth, Noah, Melchisedeck, Abraham, and all to whom the Priesthood was revealed.

Fig. 4. Answers to the Hebrew word Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament of the heavens; also a numerical figure, in Egyptian

signifying one thousand; answering to the measuring of the time of Oliblish, which is equal with Kolob in its revolution and in its measuring of time.

Fig. 5. Is called in Egyptian Enish-go-on-dosh; this is one of the governing planets also, and is said by the Egyptians to be the Sun, and to borrow its light from Kolob through the medium of Kae-e-vanrash, which is the grand Key, or, in other words, the governing power, which governs fifteen other fixed planets or stars, as also Floeese or the Moon, the Earth and the Sun in their annual revolutions. This planet receives its power through the medium of Kliflos-is-es, or Hah-ko-kau-beam, the stars represented by numbers 22 and 23, receiving light from the revolutions of Kolob.

Fig. 6. Represents the earth in its four quarters.

Fig. 7. Represents God sitting upon his throne revealing through the heavens, the grand Key-Words of the Priesthood; as, also, the sign of the Holy Ghost unto Abraham, in the form of a dove.

Fig. 8. Contains writing that cannot be revealed unto the world, but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God.

Fig. 9. Ought not to be revealed at the present time.

Fig. 10. Also.

Fig. 11. Also. If the world can find out these numbers, so let it be. Amen.

Figures 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, will be given in the own due time of the Lord.

The above translation is given as far as we have any right to give, at the present time.

But the true story of how Smith came into possession of the papyri is somewhat different to that which the Mormons would have outsiders believe. It seems that the prophet received the mummies from a travelling showman who was passing through Kirtland when the Mormons were established there in 1835. Being intensely interested in all things of Egyptian origin, owing to their claim that the *Book of Mormon* plates were inscribed with "reformed" Egyptian characters, the Church purchased the mummies. In these mummies were found the papyri, and Joseph Smith, with the "aid" of W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery, began the task of translating the hieroglyphics.

In order that his translation should have support, Smith obtained, and exhibited, a certificate written by the showman from whom he bought the relics, to the effect that the showman had shown the "hieroglyphic characters to the most learned men in many cities, and from all the information that I could ever learn or meet with I find that of Joseph Smith to correspond in the most minute matters."

Smith printed a reproduction of his interpretations in *Times and Seasons*, a Mormon publication, under the title of the *Book of Abraham*.

It is on record that when the papyri were shown to Josiah Quincy and Charles F. Adams, during their visit to Nauvoo in 1844, Smith pointed to the inscription and said: "That is the handwriting of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful. This is the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the Creation, from which Moses composed the first Book of Genesis."

It is also a fact that in 1842 the Rev. Henry Caswell, once Professor of Divinity in Kemper College, Missouri, took with him to Nauvoo an old Greek manuscript of the Psalter, to lay it before Smith so that his powers of translation might be tested. Smith was not at Nauvoo when Mr. Caswell arrived, but he was persuaded by the Mormons to wait till the prophet came. When he did arrive he was shown the manuscript, and, after examining it carefully, he turned to Mr. Caswell and said: "This ain't Greek at all, except perhaps a few words. What ain't Greek here is Egyptian, and what ain't Egyptian is Greek. This book is a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and it is very valuable."

Now, whether or not the Mormons deny this version of how the papyri came into their possession—and it may be taken for granted that they will deny it—their claim as to the authenticity of Smith's translation stands or falls by the verdict of present-day Egyptologists, to whom these inscriptions are no longer secret. Not long ago the author was informed by a Mormon Elder in London that the papyri had been lost in a fire; but the illustrations drawn by Smith's own hand still remain, and with these it is possible to deal. Even students of average ability may discover, after a little study, the meaning of these pictures. To profound scholars their meaning is plain at once.

Several years ago the Mormon Church was approached by Bishop F. S. Spalding, of the Episcopal Church, then living in Utah, who asked the leaders to submit the translations and the papyri to scholars for examination. In an unfortunate moment for them the leaders consented, probably hoping that the investigation would yield proof that their prophet was inspired. Alas for their fond hopes! The experts pronounced that the illustrations were not at all what the Mormon prophet had told his followers they were, but were merely duplicates of Egyptian drawings found quite commonly in Egyptian tombs.

Professor Edgar James Banks, among other distinguished American archæologists, stated in regard to illustration No. 1:

"From the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and other Egyptian writings it is absolutely known just what the picture meant to the Egyptian who made it. Smith's Abraham on the altar is but a common mummy upon its bier. The figure at the side, to whom Smith has given a knife, and whom he calls a priest of Elkenah, is the Egyptian god Anubis, the protecting god of mummies. The four deities which Smith says are standing by the sacrificial altar, and for whom he has originated the names Elkenah, Mahmackrah, Korash, and Pharaoh, are pictures of four jars which contained the soft part of the body when it was prepared for burial by the mummy-maker, and, like all such jars, their covers were made in the forms of the heads of a man, a hawk, a jackal, and a baboon, the four sons of the Egyptian god Horus. Such jars are found in abundance, and are to be seen in most collections of Egyptian antiquities."

In regard to No. 2 Professor Banks said:

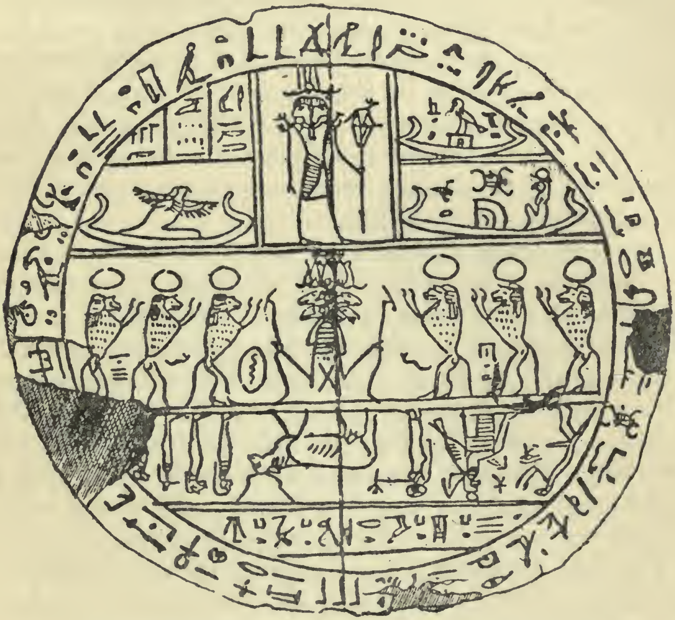
"Abraham, on the throne of Egypt, is said to be discoursing on the principles of astronomy. The original of Smith's crude drawing is a common stock-picture from the tombs. The seated figure is not Abraham, but the Egyptian god Osiris, before whom the dead were brought for judgment. Behind him stands his wife, Isis, and before him, conducted by two figures, is the soul of the dead man."

Dealing with the hieroglyphics in illustration No. 3, the same authority said:

" The third drawing is a poor copy of the most common hypocephali, the little disks which were placed as cushions beneath the heads of the mummies, and which were therefore found in the greatest abundance. They are covered with stock-pictures, and with hieroglyphics containing selections of a hymn to the sun-god. Some of the hieroglyphics of Smith's copy are so crudely drawn that they are scarcely recognisable. 'Upon the disk,' says Smith, 'is a picture of God upon His throne, clothed with power and authority, with a crown of eternal light upon His head.' Any student of Egyptology can see at a glance that it is but the Egyptian sun-god in his boat. The Mormon prophet's explanation of the other pictures on the disk are equally absurd, and his translation has not a vestige of truth in it. To call it self-delusion would be charitable."

Now, this testimony can be further supported by other weighty evidence, which proves conclusively the absurdity of the Mormon claims. When he was investigating this matter the author was informed by a Mormon Elder to whom he broached the subject that modern scholars were "in disagreement" as to the meaning of the pictures. It was objected that Professor Banks's testimony was too generalised, and was too lacking in detail for it to be convincing. To supply this detail became the task of the author, who approached several profound scholars and students in order to obtain final, conclusive judgment.

The accompanying reproduction (see illustration of hypocephalus in the British Museum) shows the original of Joseph Smith's drawing—one of the common hypocephali found in Egyptian tombs. But whereas Smith has drawn his disk badly and unintelligently, has numbered the sections, and has bridged over the failure of his imagination by stating that certain portions are "not to be revealed at present," the white light of



HYPOCEPHALUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

science, on the other hand, fully interprets the hieroglyphics in the original inscription. Smith in his translation challenges the world to find the true meaning of the inscription on the disk. The world has accepted the challenge. Here is the full translation by Professor Alfred Wiedemann, of Bonn University, a well-known scholar and author of *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*:

"A line of inscription runs round the disk, and reads: 'O thou shrine in *Hat benben*, Exalted One, Exalted One! Glorious One, Glorious One! Husband (of thy mother), great, living God! Chief of the gods, come thou to the Osiris Hor[1] (here follows the name of the owner of the hypocephalus), *maâ kherû*. Grant that there be warmth under his head, for he is one of thy followers.' A central band of figures crosses the field of the disk; the central figure of a squatting god with four rams' heads, two turning one way, two another, and crowned. This god is Amen; the four heads represent the four winds, and show that he is lord of the winds and of the four quarters of the world. On either side of him stand three cynocephali, each wearing the solar disk. These are the spirits of the East and of the West, of sunset and sunrise, doing homage to Amen, who is also Amen Rà, the god of the Sun.

"Directly over the figure of Amen is the figure of a god with two human heads, of which one is turned to the right and the other to the left. This also is Amen, striding from West to East, lighting and looking upon the whole world. On his head he wears the plumes of Amen, the sun disk, and the usual rams' horns. The head of a jackal grows from either shoulder, emblematic of the two forms of Anubis as Opener of the path of the North and Opener of the path of the South; and on the god's sceptre Anubis, in the form of a jackal, is carried by his guide. To his right is an inscription: 'Thou (Amen) art in the eight souls of thy gods,' *i.e.*, 'Thou appearest in all the divine manifestations which thou animatest.' Beneath the inscription the Sun God, Râ, sits in his bark, in the form of a sparrow-hawk with outspread wings. On the other side of Amen are two barks, one drawn above the other; on the middle of the upper boat is perched the soul (*ba*) of the deceased, the name of Isis being inscribed on one side of it, and the name of Nephthys on the other, in allusion to the deceased as an Osiris, bewailed and protected by the two divine sisters. At one end of the lower boat squats the hawk-headed Râ; at the opposite end is written the word *ba*, 'soul' (of the deceased) ; between them is a scarabæus coming towards Râ ; that is, the soul of the deceased in the form of a scarabæus, of the god Khepera, approaches the Sun to become one with him and with the universe.

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[1] All followers of the religion, when dead, became an Osiris

"Turning the disk upside down, on the other side of the central band, below the inscription referring to the inundation of the Nile, we find a scene with a cow in the middle. This is the Mehûrt, or Hathor cow, upon whose thighs, as we are told in a very ancient text (*Book of the Dead*), the sun of yesterday was born, other inscriptions explaining that by this is meant not the sun of the previous day, but the night sun which had been born on the evening of that day, for this cow was one of the forms supposed to dwell in the western sky. Mehûrt, or rather the *ûzat* which is born of her, is the sun, or the moon, and therefore behind the cow is drawn a female figure with an *ûzat* eye for a head. In front of the cow stand the four funerary genii which have charge of the viscera of the dead, while behind the *ûzat*-headed figure is a scene of adoration. Here an ithyphallic snake god, figured with arms and legs, the cosmic Nehebka, is adoring a winged god who is seated upon a throne, crowned with the solar disk and bearing a scourge. This is intended for Amen Min, *i.e.*, for Amen as the god of procreation.

"The fundamental idea of these scenes and inscriptions is pantheistic ; they express a belief in an all-embracing power of nature, especially as manifest in the Sun. This deity was the source of gods, and they were manifestations of him ; this was the power which protected the dead, and their hope it was to be merged in him. None the less this universal god has his abode in Heliopolis, in the sanctuary of the temple of the Sun, and to Heliopolis therefore the doctrine must be traced. These Heliopolitan views, however, found expression in the hypocephalus, not as a confession of faith on the part of its owner, but only because he hoped to induce Amen Râ in his pantheistic form to grant him the warmth needful even to the dead."

So that the Saints should not be able to complain of lack of " proof," the author obtained yet another decision on the subject after submitting the illustrations to an English student of Egyptology who has had twenty years' experience of the study. Without seeing the conclusions of the other experts, he went most carefully into the work of deciphering the hieroglyphics, and his conclusions entirely supported and coincided with the conclusions of the others, while he added further details.

Regarding Figure No. 1, he stated: " The several rows of lines at the bottom of the illustration represent the ladder leading from the nether world, and also include a representation of the sacred crocodile. It is very evident that Smith did not understand what he was drawing, and there is good reason for believing that he made deliberate changes in the picture as he copied it. In any case his interpretations are utterly absurd.

" The Osiris appears to be rising from the funereal couch. If this is an accurate drawing from the original, it may be meant to represent the soaring of the dead man to the upper world; but it seems to be more likely that Smith made this mistake in his drawing, as most of these couches represent the mummy lying thereon, the outline of the figure being the same as that of the couch. The hawk probably represents Horus. (The association of the hawk with sun gods was suggested by birds soaring and hovering in high heaven; and the crocodile, lying inert upon the bank, but terrible and devouring when aroused, was the embodiment of dignity and self-conscious power.)

" The figure at the side of the couch in most cases was a representation of Anubis, a jackal-headed god who was a special patron of the dead, guarding them and superintending the embalming ceremony. In Smith's picture, however, this figure has a human head, and this gives rise to the suspicion that Smith has deliberately put a human head on the shoulders of the figure, and put a knife into his hand."

These, then, are the conclusions of the experts. If the Mormon Church cares to challenge these criticisms, it may do so. But it may be as well to inform the Church here and now that it will be opposing the considered testimony and weighty judgment of such men as Dr. Flinders Petrie, Professor Banks, the late Bishop Spalding, Professor Alfred Wiedemann, and other learned Egyptologists whose knowledge is admitted and respected the whole world over.

It is open to every student to verify the verdict of these experts, and to prove for himself that the Mormon claims are founded on a fraud; for it is clear that the prophet did not understand what he was reproducing when he made the drawings from the papyri, so clumsily is the work done, and the suspicion is justified that he deliberately altered the inscriptions to make the fraud less easy of detection.

Now, if Joseph Smith willingly and knowingly perpetrated a fraud in this instance and deluded others therein, is it not logical to assume that he may have perpetrated other frauds and deluded his followers in other instances? Fair-minded Mormons will soon begin to ask themselves that question—are, indeed, already asking themselves that question; and they are afraid to reply. They know what the reply must be, and they shrink from it. It cuts at the very roots of their creed. They are afraid.

We propose to show here that Smith *did* perpetrate other frauds, and that in connection with their chief sacred volume, the *Book of Mormon*.

When the first edition of that book was published, its title-page was distinguished by this announcement:

"THE BOOK OF MORMON"
by
JOSEPH SMITH, Junr.,
Author and Proprietor.

There were several alterations made in the book as the years passed, but in the main its contents are the same as when first published. Taking the latest edition published, one may easily find quite conclusive evidence of its human authorship. Its close imitation to biblical style is alone suspicious ; but there are a great number of instances where direct plagiarism has been employed, and, as will be seen from the following list, whole chapters have been "lifted" from the Scriptures and included in the Mormon "Bible." It must not be supposed that this list ends the cases of plagiarism, for these are beyond the possibility of mention here, so numerous are they. Let the reader compare the following :

BIBLE.	BOOK OF MORMON.
Isaiah, chaps. xlviii. and xlix.	1. Nephi, chaps. xx. and xxi.
,, ,, l. and li.	2 ,, ,, vii. and viii.
,, ,, lii.	3 ,, ,, xx. (from v. 36).
,, ,, liv.	3 ,, ,, xxii.
,, ,, ii. to xiv. (inclusive).	2 ,, ,, xii. to xxiv. (inclusive).
Malachi, ,, iii. and iv.	3 ,, ,, xxiv. and xxv.
Matthew, ,, v., vi., and vii.	3 ,, ,, xii., xiii., and xiv.

In some cases the *Book of Mormon* gives the very opposite meaning to a Bible phrase or sentence by the deletion of the word "not," as will be seen by a comparison of Isaiah ii. 9 with 2 Nephi ix. The well-known Mormon, Hyde, counted 298 direct quotations from the New Testament from pages 2 to 428 ; and anachronisms abound throughout the whole book. Besides those mentioned in a previous chapter, it may be pointed out that in 1 Nephi it is stated that the tribes who came from Palestine to America found there in the forests cows, oxen, horses, and asses. Moroni, in his book, goes one better, and adds (Ether ix., xviii., xix.) that sheep, swine, and elephants, and many other kinds of animals "which were useful for the use of man," were found. Both of these authors apparently forget that these animals were not found in America before the coming of Europeans—and the Jewish people had a particular antipathy to pork.

Again, in 1 Nephi it is stated that John was baptised in Bethabara, and in the Book of Alma (vii. and x.) it is stated that "the son of God shall be born of Mary *at Jerusalem*!"

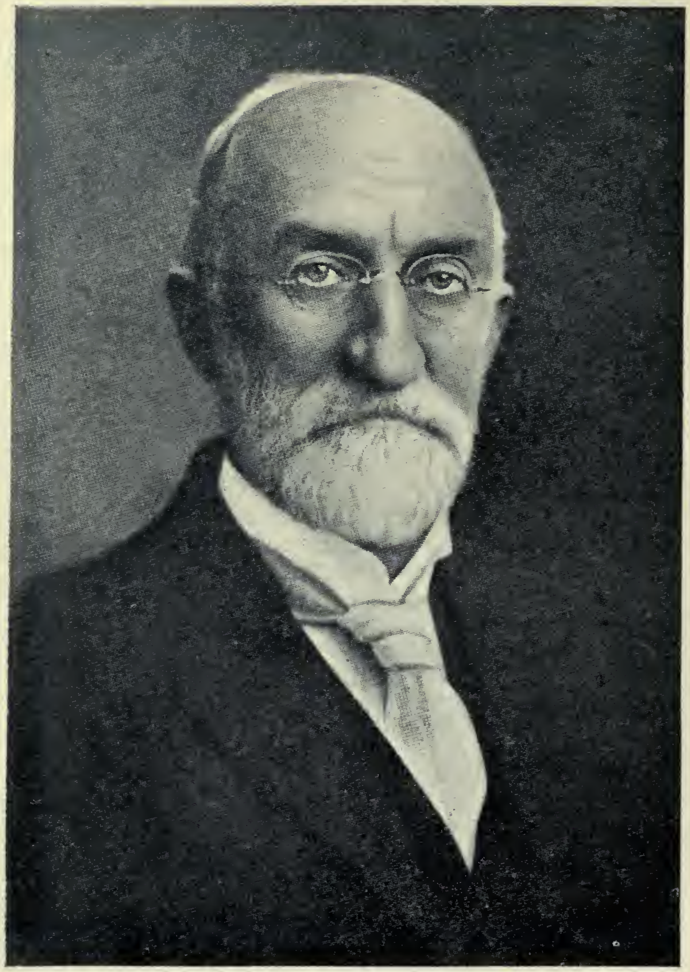
Enough has been said to show that the *Book of Mormon* has no more claim to be called "inspired" than the *Book of Abraham*, and it is this criticism that the more intelligent Mormons shrink from and fear. They feel in their hearts that the religion which their fathers established is slipping from them, for there is no defence where their leaders have been proved guilty of deceit and misrepresentation.

But there are also other incidents of recent occurrence which demonstrate the unrest in the heart of Mormondom. Among the chief of these incidents is one which took place in the Utah University a few years ago, when Milton H. Sevey, one of the young students, read a paper on "Needed Reform," in which he attacked the Church before an audience including the Regents of the institution. It is stated by those who ought to know that the Regents—the majority of whom are Mormons—are trying all they can to stop the dry-rot which threatens, and also to suppress the smouldering insurrection before it is too late; and their first step was to expel four of the Gentile professors from the university. The expulsion caused a great commotion, and the Faculty demanded an explanation. This was refused by the Regents, who also declined to allow a committee to investigate their action; whereupon fourteen of the professors resigned. The students' sympathies were with their professors, and their pressure caused the Regents to issue a statement in which they made several more or less vague charges of "disrespectful conduct" against the professors.

This incident is but one of several similar disruptions within the Church of recent years, apparently small and capable of being explained by the statement that they are but the internal disagreements common to all communities. But there is a deeper reason underlying these disruptions. The truth is that they are all part of a fight between the old school of Mormons, who see the power slipping from their hands, and the young generation, who are more enlightened than to submit to the laws which governed their fathers.

Is Mormonism—that is, is the head of the Church—strong enough to smother this murmur of intelligent criticism within its ranks and face the world anew, still unconquered?

There are those who say that Mormonism is dying; but Mormonism has been "dying" many times in its hundred years' career, and always it has lived to "die" again. At every crisis up to the present it has been saved from destruction by the unifying, binding power of its leaders. In the old days it had many of those strong, virile characters among its principal men—men who were doers as well as organisers, who spoke to the rank and file in the common language, and were able to rope a steer, or offer up prayer, or fight for their lives against a pitiless desert. But times have changed, and when Joseph Fielding Smith died on November 19th, 1918, practically the last link with those days was snapped. What of his successor?



HEBER J. GRANT,
who succeeded Joseph F. Smith, and is the President and Seer of the Mormon Church. He also is a theoretical polygamist.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

THE NEW PROPHET

JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH, the sixth "prophet and seer" of the Church, passed out of this life at his home, Bee hive House, Salt Lake City, at 4.50 o'clock on the morning of November 19th, 1918. He was eighty years and six days when he died. The cause of his decease was really old age and gradual decay, and it did not come as a big surprise to his friends, for he had been ailing for some months.

The numerous family who mourn him were at his bedside for some days before he died, and several of his colleagues sat up during the nights just preceding the end. His First Councillor, Anthon H. Lund, his successor to the Presidency, Heber J. Grant, and Bishop Charles W. Nibley were with him until within a few hours of the last.

Heber J. Grant states in a letter which he wrote to the family of the last meeting he had with the dying President in the evening of the 18th (this was the second time he had visited the President during a few hours):

"I found him in great pain, and he asked President Lund, who was there, to bless him and supplicate the Lord to release him and call him home. We placed our hands upon his head, and President Lund told the Lord how much we loved our President, and of gratitude for the joy and happiness we had had in labouring with him; but asked that he be called home if his life could not be spared to us."

Just before he died the President told his colleagues that his time had come. These were his last words.

In the passing of Joseph Fielding Smith the Church lost one of its most conspicuous figures and stalwart champions. Born at a time when the Church was undergoing severe hardship, and reared in the midst of difficulties and privations, he had developed a ruggedness and strength of character which reminded those who knew him of the first pioneers. There was no great ceremony or services at his funeral, owing to an epidemic of influenza which was raging in the city at the time. The funeral took place a few days later, and the sixth President was laid in the Salt Lake cemetery.

The successor to Smith in the capacity of prophet and seer, Heber J. Grant, was, as the rules of the Church decreed, the oldest ordained Apostle. Up to the death of Smith the new leader had presided over the Council of Twelve. When the Presidency was reorganised and he was chosen as prophet, he took as his First and Second Councillors, respectively, Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose, both of whom had acted in these positions for Joseph F. Smith.

Grant is the son of a Scotsman and a Dutch woman, Rachel Ivins, who was one of the early pioneers. She was a woman of considerable charm, and the present President was her only child, the father dying when the son was but nine days old. It was stated recently by Hyrum G. Smith, the Presiding Patriarch, that "when only a babe Heber J. Grant was, through the gift of tongues, declared to be a 'chosen vessel'—one to stand high in the priesthood, to be a leader among leaders. He was also, by prophetic vision of Patriarchs, declared to be a 'chosen pillar' in Israel."

This testimony may be taken as a sample of some of the elaborate estimates which flooded the Mormon publications immediately the new President was elected to office. A more sober judgment classifies Grant as one who has been successful in business, and has never shown qualities of outstanding brilliance, nor the reverse. He has gained a reputation for honesty and for being a hard worker. In his early days he was a great baseball player, and became captain of his team in the national game. As a boy he was merely an indifferent scholar, with a healthy love of sport.

In his opening speech at the eighty-ninth annual conference of the Church, held on June 1st, 1919, the New President gave a *résumé* of the characters of the men who had held office before him. In this speech he paid glowing tribute to "the Prophet Joseph," and referred to an incident which occurred at Nauvoo and has been handed down among the Saints as a wonderful miracle. This was nothing less than the transfiguration of Brigham Young!

"I have the testimonies," said the new President, "of George Romney, from my mother, from other relatives of mine, and from scores of people, that upon the day when Sidney Rigdon endeavoured to steal the Church of Christ and to become its leader God manifested to the people upon that occasion, by the transfiguration of Brigham Young—so that he appeared as Joseph Smith, so that he spoke as Joseph Smith—and thereby the testimony came to the Saints that Brigham Young was the man to succeed Joseph Smith, the Prophet of God."

Having related this incident to his audience, the new President went on to mention others.

"I was familiar," he said, "with Brigham Young. I knelt down time and time again in his home in the Lion House at family prayers, as a child and as a young man; and I bear witness that as a little child, upon more than one occasion, because of the inspiration of the Lord to Brigham Young while he was supplicating God for guidance, I have lifted my head, turned and looked at the place where Brigham Young was praying, to see if the Lord was not there. It seemed to me that he talked to the Lord as one man would talk to another.

"I can bear witness that Wilford Woodruff was in very deed a servant of the living God and a true prophet of God. Wilford Woodruff, a humble man, converted and baptised hundreds of people in a few months in Herefordshire, England. In eight months, as I now remember it, he baptised between 1,500 and 2,000 souls. I believe that no other man who ever walked the face of the earth was a greater converter of souls to the gospel of Jesus Christ. I want to bear witness to you that, under the inspiration of the Lord, and because of the humility of the man, because of his godlike life, and because God loved him, he was blessed upon more than one occasion with wisdom that was superior to all the wisdom of the bright financial minds in the Church.

" President Woodruff announced that the Lord would like the great business of manufacturing sugar established in our midst, and a committee was appointed from the directorate of two of the largest Church institutions, two of the most substantial in all Israel, to look into the matter. They investigated the advisability of establishing the beet sugar industry in this State, and unanimously reported adversely. President Woodruff was not satisfied. Another committee was appointed. I was on the first committee, and he appointed me on the second committee. I begged to be excused, because I had already formed my opinion, and had already signed my name to a report; but he would not listen to my request to be excused. We went into the matter again, thoroughly and carefully, and the second committee reported adversely. President Woodruff said: 'Never mind the report. The inspiration to me is to establish the sugar industry. . . .' "

Grant went on to tell in detail how he had gone from one business man to another to try to get capital for the venture, and how all the business men predicted failure for the scheme, and advised the Church to abandon the idea. To this advice President Woodruff replied: " We will build the factory if it bursts the Church."

" We did build the factory," continued Grant, amid the applause of his hearers, " and it did not burst the Church; and it and subsequent factories have made for our people and for the Church millions of dollars."

One is led to think that this is surely the first time that the direct aid of the Almighty has been claimed as inspiration in a business venture, and to speculate that Woodruff's remark indicates that he himself was not sure whether it would " burst the Church " or not.

And so right through the list of previous Presidents the new leader went, proving to his own and his followers' satisfaction that all were " prophets of God." He told how Lorenzo Snow, the then President, had been " drowned " in Honolulo harbour when he was trying to land in a boat during a raging typhoon; how Joseph F. Smith, who was then a young man, and had come to Honolulo with Snow, had refused to land, and had predicted that the boat would capsize; how " but for the blessings of God in resuscitating Lorenzo Snow he would not have lived, because he was drowned on that occasion "; and how at that moment it was " revealed " to Snow that Joseph F. Smith " would yet be the prophet of God." Not a word was said as to the human efforts which aided Snow on that occasion.

So much for the new President, who is now sitting on the highest seat of the Mormon Church. One may reasonably expect, since he is so apt to quote cases of " revelation " and miraculous happenings, that he will be rich in " revealing " new ideas and methods for the guidance of the Church.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organised in April, 1830, with " the Prophet Joseph Smith " as its first President. Since then the office of " Revelator and Seer " has been held by Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, and now by Heber J. Grant. Not one of his successors, with the exception perhaps of Brigham Young, has come anywhere near the founder in the matter or manner of " revelations "; and most of his prophecies have turned out wrong. It is a strange fact that most of the prophecies and "revelations" have been "fulfilled" before they have been announced as having been made. Shall Heber J. Grant take on the mantle of "Revelator and Seer" in real earnest? Is it his intention to restore the claim of "prophecy" to its original status?

Let us put a test to him. If he is really a prophet and seer, we challenge him to complete the translation of Joseph Smith's drawing of "Kolob," taken from the Egyptian mummy which was bought from the showman. Or, if that is too hard, or impossible for other reasons, let him "reveal" why plural marriage, instituted by "Divine revelation," was abolished by a mere "manifesto" on which the Saints voted. Or—here is yet another test—will Heber J. Grant "reveal" the consistency of his own and the other leaders' declarations that "the Church is not a commercial concern," while at the same time they pride themselves on how "the Lord" told them to build sugar factories and other concerns, and claim these "revelations" as proof of Divine guidance?

Here are straight issues for President Grant to answer. When he has replied to these questions, there are many others which will keep him busy for a considerable time thereafter.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

WILL present-day Mormonism succeed in smothering its internal dissensions and in overcoming external pressure? The opposition to the Church, both from within and from without, arises out of three charges made against it, namely:

> That its political and commercial power is a danger to the State;
>
> That its doctrine and practice of polygamy is a violation of the law; and
>
> That its creed is founded on fraud.

Is it likely to surrender these, or a part of these, to the pressure? Yes—but only when it is forced. Events are hastening towards that stage.

When the author was in Salt Lake City a few years ago, he had the pleasure of meeting the then First Presidency, Joseph F. Smith, and his two Councillors, Anthon Lund and Charles W. Penrose. The interview took place in the President's offices, within a stone's throw of Temple Block; and, though Joseph F. Smith hesitated to commit himself to a definite statement regarding polygamy, one was made by President Penrose, who is still well remembered in Liverpool for the active part he took in the defence of the Saints during the anti-Mormon campaign which swept England a few years ago.

By these heads of the Church the author was received in the little, unpretentious office. There is no attempt at luxury in the headquarters of the Mormon Church. The office is in the little building sandwiched betwixt the Beehive House (the official residence of the Presidents) and the Lion House, both of which were built by Brigham Young for his wives. In the President's room the furniture is plain. The floor is laid with oilcloth, over which is a small carpet. Five or six roll-top desks ranged round the room against the wall, a writing-table in the centre of the apartment, several leather chairs, a few portraits of former Presidents hung on the walls—these complete the equipment. The charges made against Joseph F. Smith of living in luxury on the tithes paid by his flock seemed to have little foundation.

The same simplicity was shown in the personality of the man. There was nothing very striking in the appearance of the then Mormon President. His forehead was high, and his long white beard and white hair gave him a patriarchal air. Behind his gold-rimmed spectacles were a pair of grey eyes at once gentle and resolute. His enemies, one remembered, called him a mountebank, an autocrat, a rogue; his followers believed him the Appointed of God. He made no apology for being the husband of five wives and the father of forty children.

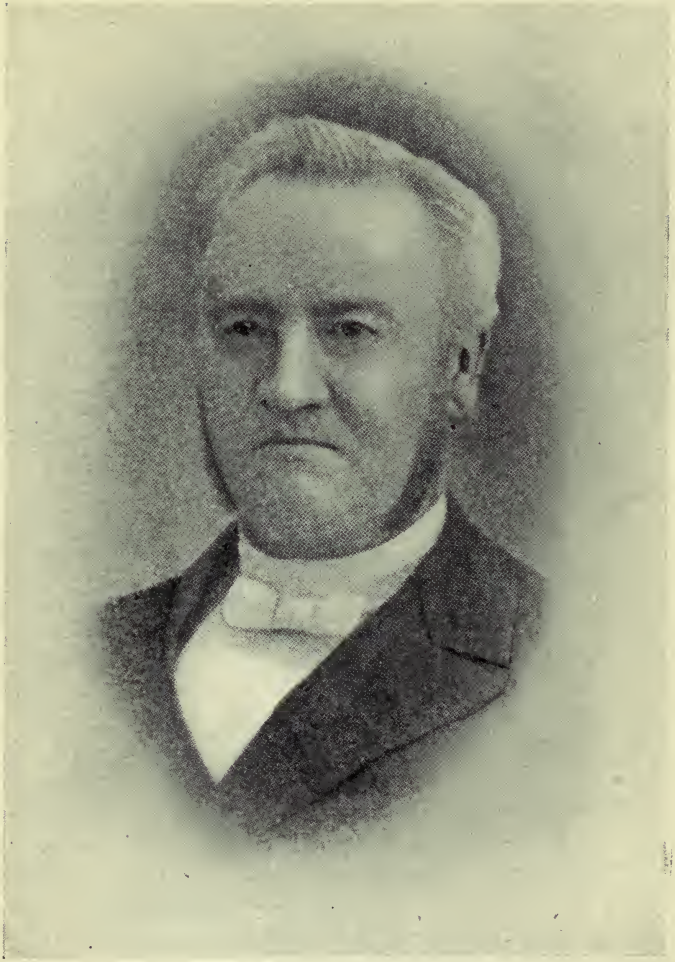
His eyes searched one's face as we shook hands, and there came into his grey pupils a pained, weary expression.

"You want to talk about polygamy?" he asked, with a touch of irritation in his tone.

When he was reassured that polygamy was not to be the main subject of our conversation, he smiled faintly.

"So many come to ask about that," he said. "I have said all I can say so often. I see you understand the position—and I am glad to meet a man who is not searching for sensation and morbid things. So many lies are being written about us——"

He made a motion of despair with his white, thin hand. He sat there in his chair in the middle of the room with his two councillors by his side, both of whom interjected



ANTHON H. LUND,
First Counsellor to President Grant.

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remarks now and then to give point, or further explanation to the President's statement.

He spoke in a soft, mellow voice, soothingly, slowly; without fuss, without hesitation, without emotion. All the time he was speaking one felt that he was thinking hard. He gave one the impression of a man who had seen violent days and had lived through strenuous times, but had come into a backwater of calm repose. He gave no indication of being a fanatic, and none of being a prophet. He looked like a retired country gentleman, with no pretentions of being the Appointed of God. It was hard to believe that this white-bearded man was held by anyone to be a prophet at all. He looked so much like a retired country gentleman; yet there was something which told in a subtle way that he was not a retired country gentleman. He was thinking hard as he talked.

"All we want is the truth," he said more than once. "We want you to tell the truth. That is all. The Prophet Joseph was appointed by God to be the prophet of the new dispensation, the last dispensation. He was God's Appointed. We believe this to be true. You will tell the truth, won't you?"

"Yes," was the reply. "The truth, so far as we can find it, will be told—even to the truth of the Mountain Meadows massacre."

He winced at the mention of that dark, terrible incident. He did not say much more at that moment; but later, when we were alone, he made a most vigorous defence of his Church and creed.

"I do not marvel that the Saints are lied about," he said, with a wistful smile, "for I have been used to that all my life. But I do marvel that the absurd and atrocious calumnies are accepted by the outside world. You are Anglo-Saxon. So are we. We sprang from the same root—a people whose mission was to put down wrong and defend the weak. I see in the attacks made on us merely the expression of 'yellow journalism' at its worst. For years we have been accused of 'polygamy.' Now our opponents have adopted the line of a 'commercial Church.'

"I do not deny that the Saints' Church has a material side; but we were taught by the Prophet Joseph, my uncle, that a religion must save its people temporally if it is to have any effect in their spiritual salvation. If they are to be exalted in the life to come, they ought to be happy and prosperous here. With this idea the prophet established at Kirtland, in the early days, an institution which we call the 'United Order.' It was a religio-social system, communal in its character, and it aimed at abolishing poverty and the evils which follow in its train. It required the consecration to the Church, by the members, of all properties. The whole was governed by stewards, and administered by them. That was the first idea.

"The law of tithing was instituted at Far West, Missouri, by revelation. That law has held good ever since. The revenues have been used in a variety of ways for the advancement of the Church. Under Brigham Young's wise administration, who inherited the power of the Prophet Joseph, the work went on rapidly. Savage tribes in the mountains were won over by persuasion, colonies were laid out and peopled, arid lands were redeemed, factories and mercantile houses were established. Missionaries were sent abroad, and 500 Church teams were sent annually to the frontier to bring in the immigration. That wonderful man founded woollen mills, made the Saints found mining and the manufacture of iron and nails. He even attempted the manufacture of beet sugar.

"From these small beginnings our commercial power has arisen. It is a lie to say that the Church has been commercialised. I denounce as a falsehood the statements that tithing is a system of robbery. The leaders pay as well as the rank and file. The Saints are not oppressed. All attacks upon us are grounded on malice or hate. We have borne much in the past. We shall be strengthened by the Lord to bear much in the future."

"There is one matter which remains," was the next query to him. "It is a personal one, but it is necessary. Do you still believe in polygamy?"

"Plural marriage is no longer a practice of the Church," he replied.

"Is it a doctrine?"

"It was abolished in 1890."

"That was by manifesto, not by revelation similar or equal in importance to the revelation which Joseph Smith gave for its adoption. Do you, personally, no longer believe in plural marriage as part of the creed?"

"It was abolished in 1890."

"I am sorry, but I must persist in the question. You have married five wives. Do you relinquish your belief in the doctrine of plural marriage? Do you defend it as a principle? Or have you discarded it?"

It was a very awkward question, but it had to be put. He stroked his white beard slowly before he answered. Then the words came slowly.

"I would defend it," he said.

To criticise these men and their religion may seem ungracious in return for their courtesy to the inquirer. They had received the author kindly. They had been willing to explain whatever questions were asked. They even volunteered information. There was not, except on a very few occasions, any hesitation to satisfy any inquiry into the organisation of which they were head. They were pleasant, kindly gentlemen.

But this story of Mormonism is a greater thing than the personal charm of a few men. Both in England and in America the author has met charming, fine men and women who called themselves Latter-day Saints. They have appeared open and frank, eager to make converts, willing to discuss their religion; but it is a strange contradiction that in their religious views these good people are the products of a system which is opposed in many ways to the characteristics which they exhibit in their personalities.

Coming into contact with them, one begins to understand the New York reporter who was sent to Utah to investigate Mormonism and returned to his editor with the statement that he had been so well treated by the Saints that he could not find it in his heart to write against them.

During a lengthy conversation at that interview the author was emphatically told by President Penrose that polygamy was no longer believed in by the Saints. (Penrose was not present when Joseph F. Smith had made his statement.) The Saints, he said, obeyed the law of the land.

"Plural marriage—that incident is closed," he protested. "The Endowment House has been pulled down long ago, and there is no such thing as plural marriage in the Church now. Marriages are still solemnised in the temples, but they are not plural marriages, and all are according to the law of the land."

The Manifesto, he admitted, was the advice given to the Saints in 1890; but it had been adopted by conference, and applied to every branch of the Church, "thereby making it a definite law." He admitted that "a few" persons, nevertheless, had contracted plural marriages since the Manifesto was issued; but this was condemned by the Church. So far as Joseph F. Smith and others of the Saints who were still living with more than one wife were concerned, their polygamous wives had been "taken" before 1890, and they had been allowed to remain in polygamy rather than have them suffer the results of what would practically amount to desertion. "There are," he said, "only a few of the leaders who still have plural wives, and all of them are old men. The Mormon Church has positively discarded the doctrine, and the practice has been abolished, so far as it could be, as a doctrine of the Church."

Incidentally he informed the author that two Liverpool girls, whose departure for Utah had been the subject of much comment during the anti-Mormon campaign in England, had been married. One had married a widower.

Now, it so happened that the author took some interest in the anti-Mormon crusade in England during 1911 which aroused the country to a high state of indignation. At that time President Penrose was in Liverpool, and there he engaged in a lively newspaper controversy on the question of polygamy with the Rev. Daniel H. C. Bartlett, of that city. In a letter to the *Liverpool Courier* of September 8th, 1908, President Penrose poured ridicule on Mr. Bartlett for stating that Mormonism still embraced polygamy, and accused him of "belabouring the ghost of a departed practice." One seems to have a recollection, also, of a denial by President Penrose that he believed in polygamy.

In the conversation in that little office in Salt Lake City he admitted that he was a polygamist.

It is interesting, also, in view of his statement that Mormons obeyed the law of the land, to recall President Penrose's evidence given at the Smoot investigation Here it is:

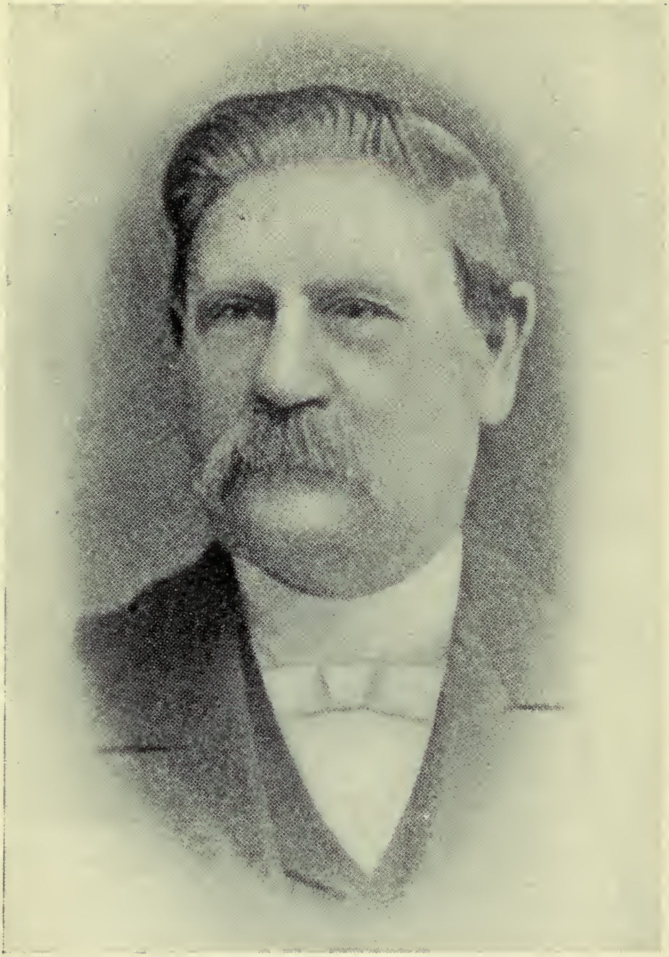
> *Question:* Are you a polygamist?
>
> *Penrose:* Yes.
>
> *Question:* How many wives have you?
>
> *Penrose:* My legal wife is dead. I have two wives whom I recognise as my plural wives.
>
> *Question:* So that you have not been married as the law defines marriage—you understand what I mean by that—to either of your present wives?
>
> *Penrose:* No.
>
> *Question:* You have children by your other wives?
>
> *Penrose:* Yes, sir.
>
> *Question:* And you received a special amnesty at the hands of President Cleveland?
>
> *Penrose:* I did.
>
> *Question:* Was it coupled with the condition that you should hereafter obey the law?
>
> *Penrose:* I believe it was.

> *Question :* You have not lived up to that condition, have you ?
> *Penrose :* No.

Further, it can be shown that President Penrose has made emphatic pronouncements on the question of polygamy directly opposed to the new attitude—or what it stated to be the new attitude—of the Church. At Ogden Junction, in a speech made about the time that polygamy was in full vogue, when he was then an Elder, he said :

> The Mormons claim plural marriage as an essential part of their religious faith, and maintain that it is practised under the direct command of Deity. If we should take steps to destroy any part of our divinely revealed creed, we should hold ourselves up to the world as liars and hypocrites, or to the Being whom we worship as defiant apostates. We did not originate the doctrine of celestial marriage ; we have no right or power to abolish it.

One may pause here to deal for a moment with the doctrine and its influence on the general creed of the Mormon Church. Mormons do not recognise, curiously enough, that their ' abolition ' of polygamy does not greatly help their case theologically ; indeed, it only complicates matters. No one can read the original ' revelation ' on polygamy without noticing its obviously human origin, as shown in its direction to Emma Smith to " forgive Joseph his trespasses," and its instructions to the prophet to keep a firm hold on his property. But, even ignoring all this, a close examination of the Mormon creed reveals how polygamy is interwoven with the whole system. We have the pre-existence of souls, the progression of gods, etc., all of which are dependent on the " plurality of wives " doctrine. For instance, a woman's glory in eternity is dependent on the size of her family. For a woman to remain childless is a calamity at the least ; a husband's rank in the other world is largely dependent on the number of his wives ; and no woman can obtain " exaltation " except



Charles W. Penrose,
Second Counsellor to President Grant, and for some years leader of the Mormon European Mission.

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by the aid of a man. Hence we have their doctrine of "spiritual wives" as a result. It is but one more link in the chain necessary to string together a doctrine which by itself could never be put forward seriously. And yet we have the weird and illogical sight to-day of the Church "discarding" polygamy and retaining its "spiritual wives" doctrine!

It is impossible to accept the Mormon contention that "the Lord," having appreciated the sacrifices made by the Mormons on behalf of their doctrine of polygamy, "withdrew" it in 1890. Such an explanation is worse than a lie; and the clearer-minded Mormons know it. The simple truth is that the doctrine of polygamy was "withdrawn," not because "the Lord" had anything to do with it, but because the pressure of the United States Government could no longer be withstood.

Let the Mormon leaders get into the frame of mind capable of admitting that historical fact, and there is some opportunity of people listening to them patiently. So long as they talk hypocritically about "the Almighty" withdrawing the doctrine because He was satisfied with their "sacrifices," there is little chance of getting them to see the logical position of affairs.

Further, in paragraph 4 of the "revelation" by the "Prophet Joseph" on the question (see chapter iii.) it is expressly stated that

> if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory.

It will be seen that here the Mormons are on equally dangerous ground whichever way they turn. The Manifesto, instead of making matters easier, has really complicated them. It was never intended to supersede the "revelation." It was intended to blind the authorities for the time being.

Apart from the question of polygamy, however, many quotations could be given to demonstrate that Joseph F. Smith himself was not so loyal as his supporters supposed. One such quotation will suffice. Speaking to a large congregation in the Tabernacle on Sunday, August 10th, 1897, he referred to the Government officials thus:

> We have stood the damned villainy of these scoundrels for thirty years in this Territory. I would sooner live among savages than among these cursed government officials. It is a disgrace among the nations and will soon be wiped out of existence.

As late as 1906 L. R. Martineau, speaking to fellow Mormons at Provo, stated that "commercialism is the mainspring of our Church."

But it is difficult to find in the Mormon Church to-day such outspoken statements, for the leaders well know that whatever their private views, the most direct way of wrecking their organisation completely would be to go in the face of the Government of the country. There are now no "revelations"; there are no "prophecies"; there are no "visions"; there are no instances of the "gift of tongues" in the sense in which there were once revelations, prophecies, visions, and manifestations of the gift of tongues. Only recently, however, a Mormon Elder told the author of how ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon was lecturing against the Saints in New York, when he was taken ill and could not finish his speech, and claimed that this was "one of many" instances where there had been manifestations in favour of the Saints. Such a claim can hardly be taken seriously.

Why the important revelations, etc., ceased with the death of Brigham Young, or shortly afterwards, has never been explained by the Saints. Some years ago a Mormon in Provo, named Bean, gained a reputation locally for obtaining revelations. He had all the prophets "beaten to a frazzle" in this direction, his best effort being a revelation that God had told him not to work. He explained his revelations by asserting that any Mormon could get them. The last time the author heard of Bean he was expecting still more revelations.

The real reason for this stoppage of revelations from headquarters is, however, simple enough. It is just the fact that such things would not now be regarded with seriousness, since Mormonism is no longer a sect secluded in the mountains and cut off from the civilised world. When "civilisation" spread westward and entered Utah, the Mormon leaders saw the danger, which they could not turn aside. They recognised it more after Utah became a State. When commerce became a force, the power of revelation vanished.

The whole history of the Mormon Church has been one of strife because its teachings and influences have all been antagonistic to the American ideal. Collisions were bound to occur, and did occur, because Mormonism in the early days was openly a union of Church and State in which the former was the senior partner. Consider also that the majority of the early converts were emigrants from Europe who knew absolutely nothing of the real American people except what they heard through Mormonism. Were not these people, mostly of the lower type, likely to come into collision with the American ideal? The doctrines of the Church were utterly opposed to Republicanism. To these people the Church was the Government, and they obeyed it as such.

The tourists who are daily led in batches by guides during the summer season through Temple Block, and are given free literature from the Bureau of Information, never come into contact with the real Church. Should one more daring than the rest try to draw the attendants of the gardens into conversation, he is directed to "ask the guide"; and the guide sees to it that the inquirer does not ask too many inconvenient questions.

One of the old gardeners in the grounds when the author was there was a native of Barnstaple, England, and stated that he was a high-priest, and that when he joined the Mormons he left his wife and thirteen children in England. His wife had refused to become a member of the sect. " But," he said with satisfaction, " I have sealed her to myself for eternity." What the wife, left with thirteen children, thinks, did not seem to trouble him.

Emigration goes on regularly from England and the Continent, and the converts are mainly brought to Salt Lake City. This traffic is a big item in the Church's organisation, and a line of steamships sailing from Liverpool caters for the groups which are taken over periodically. Converts can be taken from Liverpool on a Mormon cheque and landed in Salt Lake City for less than £20 sterling, and they repay the amount advanced, plus interest, after they get to their destination.

But though emigration adds to the population of the Mormons in Utah, the emigrants are not now in such proportion as to be considered a very important factor in the State. It is the Utah-born Mormons who count, and it is they who are most affected in any change that takes place in the Church. The Mormons are to-day as well educated as any other community in the United States. How and why, then, do they continue their allegiance to a Church which is an anachronism? The answer is that the Mormon—the average Mormon—though sincere and earnest, is surrounded by influences which he cannot be expected to break through. Born in the Church, he is taught its tenets from his earliest years. He is taught that he is one of a band of persons who are preparing the world for the second coming of Christ. He is told that Joseph Smith was given the " keys of the kingdom," and was, at the same time, given absolute authority on earth in regard to " the kingdom." He is taught that the disciples of

Mormonism are Divinely directed, and, above all, that the greatest sin is to defy that authority. His whole training up to manhood places him in a position from which he cannot escape, and his vows are indeed vows to him; and the same applies to the women. None can oppose the Church and hope for salvation.

If a Mormon is a good Mormon, he buys his clothing, his food, the whole of his worldly needs, from the Church's commercial undertakings. Even whisky is sold under the authority of the Church, for, though Mormons vow abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, they are shrewd enough to see that if there is a "trade" for whisky the Church may as well make the profit. All members of the Church give their tithes, welcome the Ward Teachers into their homes, and are constantly under the eye of the Church. The women have their own organisations, and attend to their vows with the same conscientious application as do the men. And the emblem of the Beehive—Utah's emblem—rules over all.

Bancroft Library

The future facing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is one of peril. There is no denying that, though the fact may be forgotten occasionally. It may hope to survive its internal criticisms and the pressure from outside only if it is brave enough to jettison its out-of-date creed and face the future boldly, shorn of its absurdities and blasphemies. The doctrine of polygamy is a millstone round the Church's neck. The leaders believe in it; they have never openly denounced it; but they have committed the fatal error of trying to explain it, and in explaining it, they have only caused more confusion and disruption.

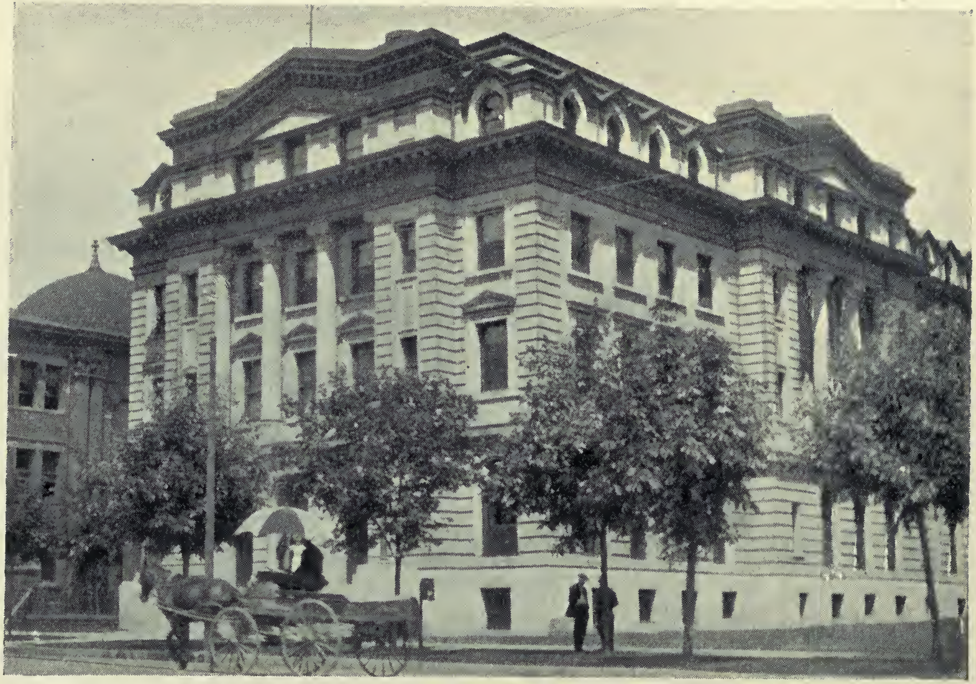
Even the endowment scene in the Temple ceremonies is not original, as some readers may have noticed. Over and over again one is confronted with situations and incidents in the ceremony which bear a strong resemblance to those used in Masonry; and it has been stated that when Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were beginning their crusade they were not sure what to preach, but were influenced not a little by an anti-Masonry campaign which was then very popular in America. The general outline of the endowment ceremony, and the signs used therein, are closely connected with Masonry; and, in spite of Mormon denials, it is easily established that a certain amount of the early Masonry which was used freely in the Temple ceremony still survives.

Those who know Masonry will be struck with the following passage in the *Pearl of Great Price*:

> And Satan said unto Cain, swear unto me by the throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die. And swear thy brethren by their heads and by the living God, that they tell it not, for if they tell it they shall surely die. And this that thy Father may not know it, and this day I will deliver thy brother Abel into thine hands.
>
> And Satan swore unto Cain that he would do according to his commands, and all these things were done in secret.
>
> And Cain saith: Truly I am Mahan, the Master of this great secret, that I may murder and get gain. Wherefor Cain was called Master Mahan (Master Mason) and he glorified in his wickedness.

Again and again one comes across this resemblance to the Masonry of the period. The fact is that at the time that Mormonism was evolved it was already too late for any entirely new religion to be introduced into the world. Any new creed was bound to take to itself, and to claim, parts of creeds already established; and in the anti-Masonry of his day Smith saw the vehicle for his purpose. It is not suggested here that he intended to copy Masonic ceremonies, but he was undoubtedly influenced by them, and, though the Church in later days strove to wipe out its obvious Masonic touches, many still remain.

That the Mormon Church will become the force predicted for it by its leaders, early and present-day, is impossible. That its doctrine could attract intellectual men is an insult to intellect. That it can even continue to exist as a religious force is to expect too much. Only one way will it continue, and that way is as a commercial



THE BISHOP'S OFFICES AND TITHING OFFICES, SALT LAKE CITY.

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concern. It is fast degenerating into that state now. Those most likely to know the situation describe the Church to-day as a gigantic commercial institution, which, under the name of religion, conducts its operations with keen commercial instinct, as autocratic as it is omnipotent in the West. It collected the tithes from its members, and never issued a statement of the money thus collected until recently, when the tithes for the year 1914 were announced as amounting to over 1,500,000 dollars; but it is suggested that the actual figures are greater than that amount. In addition to this revenue are large incomes from railroads, stores, hotels, and great tracts of land which are owned by the Church; these, however, are not held in the name of the Church, but in the names of prominent members thereof. There is hardly any sphere of commerce in which the Church is not interested, and in which it is supreme, from the salt industry to life insurance.

But all this is not to say that, though the religion of the Saints is facing a crisis, it is not a force at present. Utah was given Statehood on condition that it surrendered the doctrine of polygamy. It took the Statehood and kept polygamy also. If Heber J. Grant, the new President, does not now believe in polygamy, let him say so, and explain why, to his flock. Let him boldly set aside the original revelation of the first prophet. He dare not do so. Yet, while he believes in polygamy, his power in Utah is absolute, or nearly so. He rules Mormon communities in Colorado, California, New Mexico, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Alberta, Wyoming, and other places with the same, or nearly the same, power. He is able to choose, or to influence the choice of, the Government officials in Utah. He governs the courts and the State laws. He presides over gigantic commercial undertakings.

To attack the Mormon Church is also to attack the Mormon Church's commercialism, for its religion and commerce intermingle and merge into each other. To destroy the one is to injure the other. But no sane critic of Mormonism desires to destroy its commercial genius. Its beneficial co-operative principles have been of immense advantage to a people who have had to fight for their livelihood against circumstances which would have overwhelmed many other communities. The indomitable spirit which gave the Mormons their victories over what might have seemed insurmountable obstacles was, in reality, not born of their creed so much as it was in their blood. Most of the early pioneers were men and women who, being Anglo-Saxons, were natural settlers, natural pioneers. They won through not because they were Mormons, but in spite of it.

Since its inception a hundred years ago the Church has spread throughout the entire world, its creed being preached by missionaries who go from Utah voluntarily, many of them at their own expense. In 1914, before the great European War broke out, the figures available (the latest obtainable) were astonishing. These showed that since the foundation of Mormonism the number of converts made in the undermentioned countries to be, roughly, as follows:

Scandinavia	50,000
Great Britain	150,000
Germany	10,000
South Africa	100,000
New Zealand (of whom 12,000 are Maori)	15,000
Switzerland	10,000
Sandwich Isles	11,000
Samoa	7,500

Besides these there are flourishing communities in France, Australia, Austria, Japan, Italy, Greece, Palestine, and India. In Great Britain, when war broke out, there were 2,000 missionaries, and, though most of these were withdrawn when America joined the combatants, it will not be many months before the number will be made up again and the campaign for converts continued with renewed vigour.

Mention of the war brings us to a point where it might be well to consider shortly the absurdity of some anti-Mormon campaigns which have been waged in England and carried over to America. Last year (1919) considerable publicity was given to a "forthcoming attack on Mormonism" which was to be conducted from Pittsburg, and the columns of several newspapers, both here and in America, gave prominence to "terrible facts" which would be disclosed. Several delegates went over to Pittsburg to attend a conference, and one told a newspaper reporter in London that "she had been threatened by Mormons, and was afraid of being kidnapped." There followed from these crusaders a stream of lurid stories setting forth how "Mormon missionaries were converting hundreds of young women in Europe, and leading them to Utah for immoral purposes."

The strange thing is that the people who send out these mendaciously false statements have never been to Utah, nor do they know the creed of Mormonism or its problems. To say that Mormon missionaries take girls to Utah for immoral purposes is false on the face of it. Any girl is as safe from immorality (and sometimes safer) in Utah as she is in London or New York, or any city. This kind of thing does not help. In the present instance the anti-Mormons overreached themselves, and their highly-coloured stories only brought protests from Mormons and non-Mormons who knew the conditions and were well able to give the lie direct to such monstrous suggestions. Among those who refuted the allegations were the Salt Lake City Commercial Club—composed of business men, three-fourths of whom are non-Mormons—the evangelical pastors of non-Mormon churches in the city, the Governor of Utah and the Secretary of the State, and three non-Mormon Senators, who raised the question in the Senate at Washington.

No; that kind of thing is absurd. The Mormon religion may be based on fraud, but the young Mormons of to-day are, on the whole, as upright as their neighbours.

During the late war the State showed that its citizens were as patriotic as any other. Besides the "Mormon battalion" (the 145th Regiment), it sent 23,000 young Mormons to the war, and the Church, as a Church, subscribed a million dollars to the State loans, a shrewd piece of commercial enterprise on the part of a religious organisation.

It has been said above that the Mormon Church's religion and commerce intermingle. It is here that the only hope for the future of the organisation lies. There is no future for the former; there is no hope for Joseph Smith's strangely contorted imposture in the scheme of things American or universal. It has produced earnest, honest men and women; it has also produced rogues, thieves, and murderers.

It is because of the earnest men and women whom he has met in the Church that the author gladly declares that Mormonism is not the society of cut-throats and thugs that some writers would have us believe. The finer element is honestly filled with the belief that Joseph Smith was the prophet of the final dispensation, and that his visions were the visions of a seer. These men and women are sincere; and it is because they are sincere that the author asks them to believe that, in coming to the conclusions he here sets forth, he too is as sincere in opposing them as they are in upholding the beliefs he condemns as fraudulent.

But, with all their sincerity, the finer men and women of the Church, and the younger generation of thinking people, are afraid of the future. They see the Church faced with opposition from scientists, from historical evidence, and from a host of other foes. They see the foundations of their Church being dragged up; they see indisputable Reason blasting at the rock on which they had thought was a final foothold; they see the conflict between the visions of 1820 and the cold logic of 1920. They see their young men and young women branching out into the big world of commerce and social life, and they know that these young men and young women are asking themselves questions in secret which are blasphemy against the "Prophet Joseph." They have poured out all their human emotion, all their human kindness, all their human goodness, on a creed which *must*, some day, go to the wall. It is the good Mormons, the sincere Mormons, the elderly men and women, chastened by suffering, mellowed by toil, sustained now by memories of the tempestuous past—it is they who have made the visions of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young come true in some measure, for they have brought a philosophy—poor and halting though it is—out of a farce, and have builded a Church by making it commercially successful, by buying and selling in the name of the Deity.

As for the religious part of Mormonism, its doom is clear. It is the author's belief that before long it will be attacked, and it will crumble before the attack. Its wave of fervour is nearly spent, and in the day when it is finally attacked by its opponents this organisation, which has been a thorn in the flesh of the great American Republic since it was founded in 1830, will vanish as a creed. In that day Mormonism—the Mormonism which has quarrelled with every neighbour it has had, the Mormonism the history of which is one black page in the story of the United States—will cease to exist. Rent by internal schisms, attacked by forces as relentless as Knowledge and as powerful as Time, it will ultimately totter to a gaping grave; to a tomb dug by itself.

When that day comes, the last vestige of the abominations of Mormonism, as its founders intended it to be, will disappear from the earth, and the name of Joseph Smith will be but the memory of a man who, in his delusion, founded a gigantic fraud.

APPENDIX

SECEDERS FROM THE PARENT CHURCH

THE Mormon Church, like every other religious body, has had its dissenting sections; perhaps the wonder, considering that its constitution is of the kind likely to breed dissensions, is that it has had so few really important schisms. It is estimated that there have been at least twenty-seven bodies who broke from the parent Church in the course of its career. Of these, the most important in some respects, namely, the Morrisites, has already been dealt with.

None of the imitators of Smith—with the exception of the Josephites—ever came so near success, however, as did James J. Strang, who became known as "King of the Beaver Island." Strang was born in New York State in 1813, and was always considered rather eccentric and erratic. He entered the Mormon Church in 1844, when he visited Nauvoo. When Smith was killed at Carthage, Strang at once produced a "revelation" in which it was stated that "the Lord" gave him power to establish a "stake" in Wisconsin, on White River, and the name of the city was to be Voree. The main body—now known as the "Brighamites"—repudiated Strang; but he went ahead, and soon had a fairly strong following.

In time Strang produced a further "revelation" concerning a set of plates, similar to those said to be found by Joseph Smith; but Strang said he found them on the banks of the White River, and the translation of *his* plates contained the "prophecy": "The forerunner men shall kill, but a mighty prophet there shall dwell. I will be his strength, and he shall bring forth the record. Record my word, and bury it in the hill of promise."

After he had a considerable following, Strang transferred his community to Beaver Island, in Lake Michigan, and there a " kingdom " was organised, and polygamy practised to some extent. They even established a newspaper, which was said to be fairly successful. They observed Saturday as Sunday, thereby following the Jews ; and the women of the community dispensed with skirts, and wore knickerbockers. Strang drew up a code of rules for the government of the island, and the policing of the place was very thorough. Offenders under certain laws were publicly flogged. Matters were going quite successfully, but in 1851 opponents obtained an indictment against Strang on the ground that he had assumed the title of " King," and thereby committed treason.

A Government steamer was sent to the island, and Strang was arrested, and taken to Detroit, where he was tried and acquitted. This was but the beginning of the end. For several years a feud existed between the Strangites and their neighbours.

Then a number of Strangites apostatised, and, in wrath against their quondam prophet, threatened his death. Three of them, named Wentworth, Bedford, and McCulloch (the latter a doctor), were deputed to carry out the threat. One day in June, 1856, when Strang was boarding the United States steamer *Michigan* as she lay in Beaver harbour, he was shot by Bedford and Wentworth. His wound, though fatal, did not kill him outright. He was taken to Voree, and lingered till July 9th, being attended all the time by his lawful wife, who had rejected his " revelations," but kept by him throughout his career. Shortly afterwards the whole colony was wrecked by a band of armed men from the mainland, and the remnant of the Strangites fled, some of them becoming Josephites later.

The only dissenters from the original Mormon Church who have attained to anything like importance are the Josephites, so called because they were led by Joseph Smith, junior, son of the original prophet.

When the original prophet, Joseph Smith, erected the city of Nauvoo, it will be remembered that he obtained much of the land free, which he sold to his flock as they arrived. In this way he made a considerable fortune. As spiritual wives had no legal right, all this fortune and some plots of land and houses were claimed by his legal wife, Emma, when the Mormons left Nauvoo for the west. With her was her youngest son, Joseph, junior, who had been blessed by his father. After the Strangites were scattered, some of their number fixed on Joseph, junior, as the man to be their prophet's successor. After some hesitation and agitation he was "called" in 1860, and a following was got together under the name of the "Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." The sect was opposed to polygamy, and denied that the "Prophet Joseph" had ever practised plural marriage. They established missions at home and abroad, and engaged in many controversies with the Brighamites. On many of those occasions the spokesman for the Brighamites was Joseph F. Smith, the lately deceased President at Salt Lake, and the debates and lectures were sharp and bitter.

The prophet of the Josephites lived at Independence, Mo., until late in 1915, when he died at a rare old age.

The other dissenting sects include the Gladdenites, the followers of Bishop Gladden, who was strongly opposed to polygamy and other features of the Brighamite Church. The sect had its headquarters in St. Louis, but was crushed by the domineering personality of Brigham Young. On the occasion of a sermon in Salt Lake City, Brigham, knowing that there were Gladdenites in his audience, launched out into a tirade against them as being apostates.

"I say to you bishops," he declared, "do not allow them to preach in your wards. Who broke the roads to these valleys? Did this little, nasty Smith and his wife? No. They stayed in St. Louis while we did it, peddling ribbons and kissing the Gentiles. I know what they have done here—they have asked exorbitant prices for their nasty, stinking ribbons. (Voices: 'That's true.') We broke the roads to this country.

"Now, you Gladdenites, keep your tongues still lest sudden destruction come upon you. I say, rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will unsheathe my bowie-knife and conquer or die. (Great commotion among the audience.) Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or 'judgment will be laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet.' (Voices: 'Go it! Go it!') If you say it is all right, raise your hands. (All hands held up.) Now, let us call upon the Lord to assist us in this and every good work."[1]

As a result of this terrible "preaching" it is believed that several Gladdenites were murdered. The sect broke up, some of them escaping to California and many recanting. By the year 1854 the Gladdenite sect was dead.

Another "prophet" who rose to a fleeting notoriety was named Davis, who made his public appearance at Idaho; but he spoiled his chances of fame by having a "revelation" that all his followers were to give their property to him as "trustee," and that they were to practise communism. His little power waned after that, though another "revelation" was issued among the sect that a little child, whose parents were Davisites, was to be the future Messiah. This child was actually accepted as the future Deliverer, and for some time was kept apart from other children, and was always dressed in white. But gradually the sect lost faith in their leader, and many removed to Nevada; and the organisation broke up, and passed into oblivion, as other dissenting groups had passed before them.

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[1] Published in the *Journal of Discourses*, vol. ii., p. 82, a Mormon publication.

None of the other seceding factions was of any importance. They were mostly short-lived, and to-day are entirely forgotten, save by these few persons who lived in the days when Mormonism was at its crudest and most violent period.

Odhams Press Ltd., 39 King Street, London, W.C. 2